

A CURE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT

THE WORLD TOMORROW

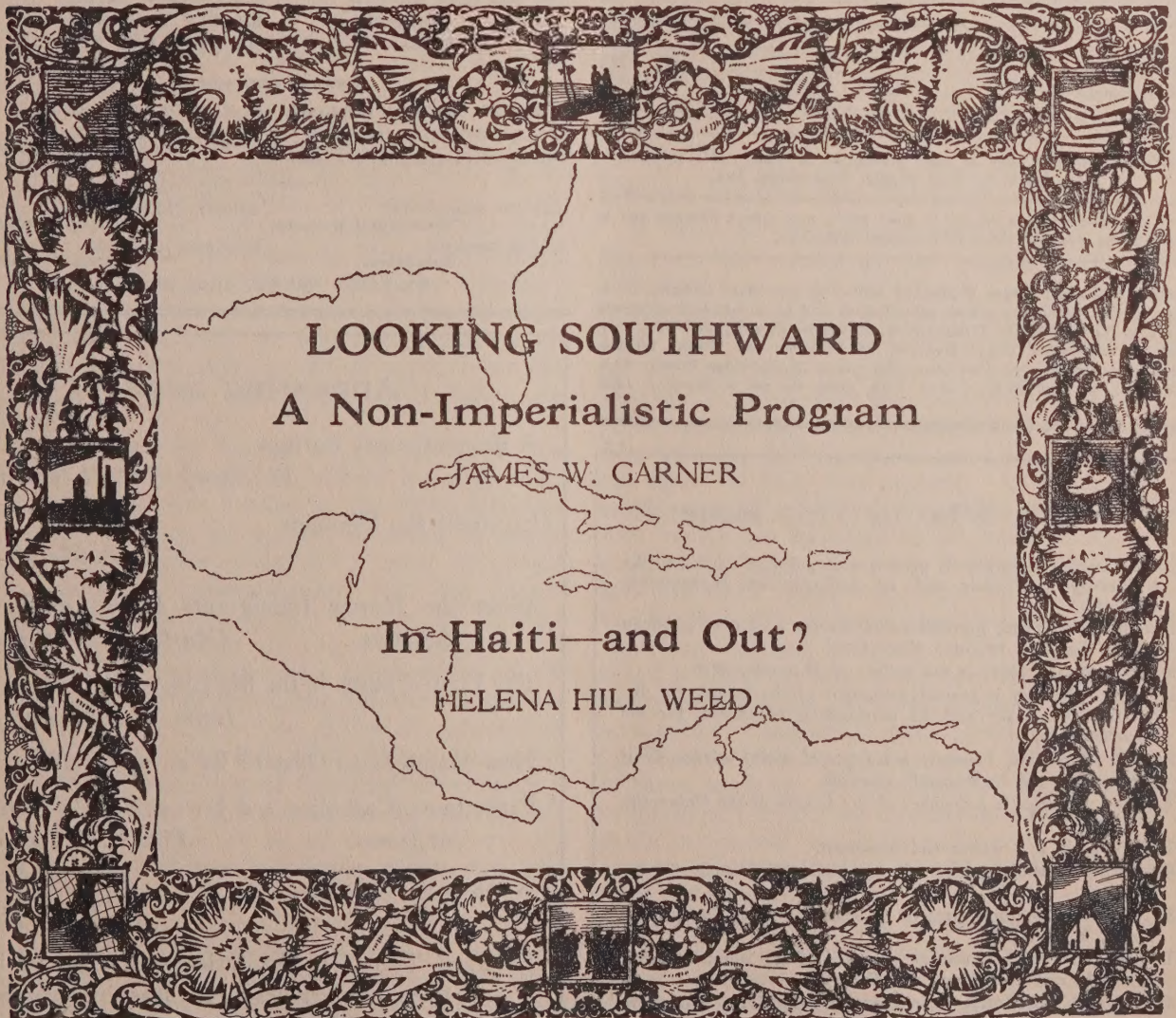
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Who's Who in This Issue

James Wilford Garner is professor of political science in the University of Illinois and an authority on international relations.

Helena Hill Weed, journalist and student of Latin-American affairs, has just returned from Haiti.

Stanton A. Coblentz is the author of *Marching Men*.

Norman Thomas is executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy and an outstanding spokesman for the Socialist Party.

Samuel Cornelius, formerly a teacher of social science, is at present engaged in economic research.

Edward Berman is a member of the faculty of the University of Illinois.

Roy Veatch is a writer and economist.

Curtis W. Reese is dean of the Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago.

F. V. Slack is administrative secretary of Asia, Foreign Division, Y. M. C. A.

Dorothy Detzer is executive secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Caroline B. La Monte is secretary of The World Tomorrow, Inc.

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Forward Trends in the Orient—a series of informative articles on the East by outstanding expert observers.

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIII

May, 1930

No. 5

Editorials

Looking Southward

Seldom indeed does THE WORLD TOMORROW, whose editors no less than its readers like short articles, permit a contributor to use seven pages for a single discussion. In the case of Professor Garner, however, whose article opens this issue, we have thought it far better to allow extended treatment by one writer rather than run a trio of shorter articles by different contributors. We believe this article presents illuminatingly the mess we have made in our relations with Latin America, the reasons for it, and some important steps toward a solution of the problem. Together with the article by Helena Hill Weed, written out of long familiarity with the Caribbean and a special study at the time of the Forbes Commission's visit to Haiti, we find here described the worst and the best that can be expected from old-party administrations regarding United States' imperialism.

Editorially we go further in our demands than Professor Garner though we believe his suggestions are practical and are headed in the right direction. In view of the past, we are not in favor of any intervention whatsoever. Certainly it must be demonstrated definitely, unquestionably, that the United States has withdrawn completely from its attempts to dominate the republics to the south of us before the benefits of even non-violent intervention in any case will seem just to our Latin American neighbors.

With this much clear, we desire to express our conviction that at long last, with imperialism out of the picture, the condition of unlimited sovereignty is no boon to mankind. Eventually the human race will come to see that the affairs of one people are the affairs of all, and that no single nation can with justice or human fraternity disregard the wishes of others by the perpetuation of wrongs within its borders or truculent attitudes toward neighbor countries. Thus we look forward to a time when a non-violent intervention by diplomatic pressure and joint counsel may not only be needed in certain instances but highly desirable. This time is still far away, however, and

will remain in the distance until the great powers relinquish their grip on the smaller nations. Sovereignty, we believe, is a stumbling-block to racial peace. But at present it is not the excessive nationalism of small countries that causes international trouble so much as the supra-national greed of the larger nations and their own insistence on their divine right to do as they please regardless of all except the other major powers.

Peace Gains No Victory

In spite of the Administration's brave efforts to interpret the results of the London conference in optimistic terms, it is difficult for a realist, who is not interested in political and party prestige, to squeeze more than an ounce of satisfaction from the labors of our esteemed statesmen in London. President Hoover declares that the conference will save the American tax-payer about six hundred million dollars. Mr. Stimson, we believe, is less optimistic and places the figure at half that amount. In either case the savings are no more real than those of the good wife who saved her husband three thousand dollars because she bought a fur coat for three thousand dollars instead of buying one for six thousand. The real fact is that the conference authorizes a tremendous American building program. We can, if we will, spend a billion dollars in the next six years achieving parity with Britain. Without a conference the American public would never have sanctioned such an expenditure. It defeated Secretary Wilbur's program of three years ago overwhelmingly. But this building program is a matter of international agreement. The peace forces will, we hope, make every effort to prevent the Government from making the *de jure* parity ideal a *de facto* one. But they will be under a great handicap. The big navy people will be able to develop a holy resentment against such efforts and cry, "These pacifists will not even grant us the strength which foreign governments accept as necessary and reasonable." Against this air of injured innocence it will not be easy to fashion effective weapons. The

only force which may save us is the pocket nerve of the public. We can not undertake such a building program without a very appreciable increase in taxation.

Nothing happened at the conference to add to the laurels of any statesman or to the satisfaction of any nation. After months of negotiations the conference merely ratified the essential agreement reached by Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Hoover. This agreement was made possible by the fact that England recognized the peril of a naval race with America and decided to accept parity with us rather than risk the possible dissolution of the empire in the eventuality of a war. Contrary to popular impressions, the agreement did not involve any appreciable concessions on the part of our nation. The right to build a billion dollars worth of ships is proof to the contrary. We have merely gained by agreement what other nations have failed to gain by the threat of war, chiefly because we are strong and rich enough to outbuild any nation in naval armaments if we set our minds to that end.

The one result of the conference is, therefore, to preclude the possibility of war between us and England for the next decade. That is a gain. But it is not a clear gain because the very failure of France and Italy to join in the accord makes it seem more than ever like an Anglo-American *entente*. To the credit of the English and American statesmen it must be said that they did not really intend it to be that. They wanted the understanding between England and America to flower into a general international undertaking. This wish could not be fulfilled partly because Italy made impossible demands upon France and partly because we would not join in a general agreement to consult with other nations in times of crisis, an agreement which would undoubtedly have had the effect of obligating us to a certain degree to make common cause with the European nations against some recalcitrant member of the international household.

There are peace lovers who argue that such a consultative pact would have been dangerous to the peace of the world and that we did well to disavow it. We can find no basis for such reasoning except the proud assumption that American opinion in times of crisis will be purer and more disinterested than the total opinion of the nations of the world. Practically our unwillingness to enter a consultative pact means that, in the eventuality of a League of Nations boycott against a recalcitrant nation, we reserve the right to trade with the boycotted country. Specifically this may mean that in the event of war between France and Italy (supposing Italy to be the aggressor) we will not join the other nations in reducing Italy to impotence by withholding coal from her. It may

be that boycotts and other means of international action against a nation are extremely dangerous weapons of dubious efficiency; but it seems more reasonable to trust them in time of crisis than to rely upon the confusion of counsel which our unwillingness to enter international conference agreements makes inevitable.

The naval holiday on capital ships until 1936 may be put down as a minor achievement of the conference. It will result in certain savings which, in the case of our nation, will be more than exhausted by our building program in other categories. Nor does this holiday in capital ships affect the general temper of international relations, since it is generally agreed that capital ships are obsolete or obsolescent.

The peace forces have little to celebrate in the achievements of the conference. If they are wise they will be contrite rather than joyful—contrite over their earlier and naive acceptance of the principle of parity which is now written into the laws of nations and which gives the navalists an undue advantage in our national councils for years to come.



From a drawing by Albert Daenens

The Conference

Disarmament in Toto

It is heartening to see the steady gain in public regard made by the Women's Peace Union's Constitutional Amendment prohibiting war. When it was first introduced by Senator Frazier a few years ago, the doughty women who had carried it through opposition on to the floor of the Senate were given the cold shoulder even by some in the radical peace societies. It was labelled fantastic, quixotic, so far-reaching and far-seeing as to be far-fetched.

One by one, however, peace groups and individuals have ceased their hostility. While not regarding the Amendment as a panacea, many who saw no good in working for a project that stood no chance of early success have come to realize the present possibilities of the proposal as a means of public education. This for the meantime; ultimately, few ever doubted, such an Amendment must be seriously considered as an immediate practical step. At the present time the Amendment is endorsed by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters' League, the Women's Peace Society, the Peace Section of the American Friends' Service Committee, the Pennsylvania Committee for Total Disarmament, and others. Representatives of the groups mentioned shared in the hearing on the bill, S. J. 45, held at Washington April 12th. Such well-known peace leaders as Katherine Devereux Blake, Jessie Wallace Hughan, John Nevin Sayre, and Edmund B. Chaffee, aided the Women's Peace Union in upholding the need for the Amendment.

What is S. J. 45? It reads as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:

ARTICLE —

SECTION 1. War for any purpose shall be illegal, and neither the United States nor any State, Territory, association, or person subject to its jurisdiction shall prepare for, declare, engage in, or carry on war or other armed conflict, expedition, invasion, or undertaking within or without the United States, nor shall any funds be raised, appropriated, or expended for such purpose.

SEC. 2. All provisions of the Constitution and of the articles in addition thereto and amendment thereof which are in conflict with or inconsistent with this article are hereby rendered null and void and of no effect.

SEC. 3. The Congress shall have power to enact appropriate legislation to give effect to this article.

For many years the Constitutional sanction, or rather mandate, regarding war has been a stumbling block in the path of the peace movement. As the Women's Peace Union rightly points out, the Consti-

tution sanctions war, defensive or offensive; it provides for an army, navy, and state militia; it authorizes Congress to prepare for war, declare war, appropriate money for war.

Hardly had the first organized peace movement taken form some 115 years ago when every drastic project for the abolition of war ran up against the Constitution. William Lloyd Garrison found himself reduced to the political futility of never voting at all, because he could not cast a ballot conscientiously for a person sworn to uphold the Constitution, with its war provisions. There were indeed not a few extravagances and inconsistencies in the group that rallied around Garrison to found the New England Non-Resistance Society; but their famous declaration of sentiments, which almost three-quarters of a century later aroused Tolstoy to intense admiration, evidenced the dilemma these men and women of sensitive conscience were in. It stated: "We . . . voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of authority. If we cannot occupy a seat in the legislature or on the bench, neither can we elect *others* to act as our substitutes in any such capacity."

Nor was this extreme position entirely unjustified; for through succeeding decades apologists for war have raised the cry of "the Constitution" as an argument against peace efforts. When the crisis of the Mexican War came upon the disunited peace movement, the cry was loudly flung at those who ventured to protest; it was the same in 1861 and 1898 and 1917. It was a favorite argument of the late Lyman Abbott, foremost religious war-sanctifier of his day.

We stand at present betwixt the fact of the Kellogg Pact, which outlaws all wars except the wars we are most likely to have—so-called wars of defense—and the future time when the aroused and educated will of the people shall give substance and final authority to pledges of pacific means. In the struggle toward that bright day, the Amendment prohibiting *all* war deserves the support of all who, when they abjure warfare, mean what they say.

An American Statesman

In a recent issue of the *Survey Graphic* there appeared an article entitled "Toledo, The City the Auto Ran Over." It was a vivid portrayal of the social and human consequences of unemployment in this midwestern industrial center. According to the author, 24,000 men in a single automobile factory of a total employment of 28,000 were out of work during the last months of 1929. These men were thrown upon the charities of the city. The company meanwhile declared a dividend the first of the year of \$900,000. Obviously this dividend came from its re-

serves. The company had a sense of obligation to its poor stockholders but none to its unemployed workers. The president of the company contributed the munificent sum of \$15,000 to the community chest of the city in which thousands of his workers were forced to beg the bread of charity. It might be said that this same gentleman has since sold his holdings in the company and has become our esteemed ambassador to Poland. A few days ago the metropolitan press carried a news item announcing that the new ambassador to Poland had spent \$300,000 for rare tapestries. Further comment is hardly necessary.

This series of incidents is a perfect revelation of the state of morals in our present industrial society. The gentle reader will note how carefully we have guarded the identity of the object of our strictures. So certain are we of the secrecy in which we have veiled our eminent statesman, that we offer a ten cent lithograph of Marshal Pilsudski to anyone who guesses his identity.

Republican Shoals and Muscle Shoals

Mr. Claudius Huston is still Chairman of the Republican National Committee. Despite the fact that he was by common knowledge President Hoover's choice for the job, the President has made no public move against his retaining the position forever. But that he will retain it longer than necessary for the average American to forget his unsavory financial transactions—that is to say, a few months—is doubtful. Mr. Huston admittedly received large sums of money from companies interested in operating Muscle Shoals at great profit to themselves, and used these funds to cover stock margins of his own.

While the public is engaged in forgetting, we hope they will not overlook the memorandum written by Mr. J. E. Worthington, Mr. Huston's associate in the Tennessee River Improvement Association, and submitted as evidence at the Senate lobbying investigation. In his memorandum the worthy Mr. Worthington said:

Yesterday the Republican National Committee elected as its Chairman Claudius H. Huston, of Tennessee, long known as President of the Tennessee River Improvement Association.

With the President pledged to oppose the policy of government operation and the chairman of the Republican National Committee coming from the presidency of the organization that has opposed this policy at Muscle Shoals for many years, will any reasonable man expect anything but a veto of a government operation bill should Congress pass such legislation?

We are reasonable creatures, and we expect nothing but slaughter of the Norris bill, which recently passed the Senate again with flying colors. If Mr. Hoover is able to contemplate the shady Republican maneuverings which have gone on beneath his very

nose without being disturbed by the odor, he is unlikely to approve a measure which goes counter to his deepest instincts and convictions.

Behind the attack on government operation of Muscle Shoals is a fear on the part of the power interests that once a huge plant like this is successfully run for the benefit of the people the standard arguments for private profits would be rendered stale and useless. "Such legislation," declared Senator Norris advisedly, "will enable oppressed people to hold this up as a model. It will show what can be done by honest development, by honest capitalization, by honest management, instead of having development under the control of power companies. . . . The Tennessee River, if properly developed, would be a demonstration that we can produce power here as cheaply as anywhere, and the people who are paying 8, 10, and 12 cents a kilowatt hour for the lights in the little homes and cottages of America ought to be getting it for two cents. Instead of buying light they could cook their meals by electricity and pump their water by electricity. They could almost live by electricity."

Now these, as every good and power-propagandized American will realize, are all but treasonable sentiments. No; the best thing to do about the Norris bill is to get it slaughtered as soon as possible, so that no dreams of cheap electricity may interfere with the great American industry of forgetting crookedness in high Republican and Democratic circles.

Gandhi's Growing Crusade

Those who have never studied the African campaign of Mahatma Gandhi or the former civil disobedience movement of India are apt to feel that slight headway is now being made. Especially is this true if the chief or only source of information is the press dispatches that have appeared in the newspapers since the Great March began. News sent out through the news agencies is always likely to be colored by local prejudices, and most of the dispatches that have filtered through to the United States have contained innuendo and veiled sneers at the Gandhi method and the Gandhi program. But it is well to remember that in India, a large country with an agricultural population and the Oriental pace, the civil disobedience campaign at present under way can only gather momentum with extreme slowness. Indeed, it has been so planned. There is absolutely no justification for the view that the crusade has failed or even faltered.

We also feel moved to warn our readers against the current impression conveyed by press dispatches that followers of Gandhi are very generally resorting to violence. There are explosive elements in struggling India, and everyone familiar with the situation

well knows that not a few believers in violent revolution have for the sake of pure expediency taken the outward sign of Gandhi followers. While we recognize the possibility of large-scale violent rebellion we urge extreme caution in forming judgments, and advocate use of the Indian journals, such as *Young India*, *The Bombay Chronicle*, etc., to counteract the biased news characteristic of colonial crises in any part of the world.

When this is said, however, the truth must frankly be faced that the Great March to the sea, the violation of the salt laws, and the aftermath of arrests, may fail to bring about the great awakening and response among the masses which Gandhi and the other leaders have relied on. Even between the writing of these words and the reading of them, Gandhi may be jailed. Jawaharlal Nehru is already behind bars for a six months' term; Mahadev Desai, Gandhi's faithful aide and one of the most thoughtful writers on the *Satyagraha* movement, has been arrested, along with dozens of others, including two sons of the Mahatma. Whether jailing the leaders will finally stir the populace or cool its ardor, only time will tell.

Meantime, while the great figure of the slight Gandhi goes bravely on with his hard task, the best to date that a supine Labor Ministry at London can do is to announce through Wedgewood Benn that the Government stands behind India's British overlords. Whether Gandhi fails or not, British Labor is already failing in its Indian policy and stands condemned before the labor and liberal opinion of the world.

Alas and Hurrah

In our hands is the last issue of *The Irish Statesman*, the brilliant journal edited through so many vicissitudes by the painter-poet-author, George Russell (Æ). How he has managed to labor so prodigiously on his paper and at the same time produce creatively in other directions, is beyond us. He is an editor who can write on everything from art to agricultural economics. Unfortunately the paper, which was supported largely by Irish-Americans, never had a very large circulation. Admired wherever good writing and vigorous constructive policies appeal, *The Irish Statesman* will be missed.

Our regret is mitigated, however, by the manner in which the British labor paper, *The Daily Herald*, is being rejuvenated. For years it has struggled along with a poor circulation and a public influence ludicrously meager in comparison to the political power of the party whose organ it was. Recently a most unorthodox arrangement was entered into whereby the commercial side of the publication is handled as a

straight business proposition by a regular publisher, while the paper is edited for labor by a labor staff whose freedom of utterance is safeguarded by contract. New features, new writers, better make-up and pictures, all the accoutrements that make an attractive paper for the multitude, are being introduced. A great campaign of subscription-getting has been initiated, and already the daily has jumped to the phenomenal paid circulation of well over a million. An edition of 400,000 more for northern England is to be printed at a separate point and the end is not yet. The results in labor solidarity and general prestige may be incalculable.

Strike Up the Band

Journey's End has been widely hailed as anti-war propaganda. But if it has a propaganda effect upon the mind of the playgoer that is not its intended purpose, and Señor Madariaga may be right in suggesting that abhorrence of war is not the inevitable effect which the play produces. It has remained for the musical comedy stage to present the most uncompromising anti-war propaganda in *Strike Up the Band*. The fact that this play is being presented to capacity houses in New York is perhaps not significant. Gershwin's music may be the attraction; or again it may be that the inimitable fooling of the leading comedian is the box office magnet. But the play is popular, and the crowd seems to enjoy the shafts directed against war profiteers, insincere politicians, and patriotic committees. There is no indirection in the play. No one is left in doubt about the author's thesis. One wonders what will happen to the play if it starts on tour. Or is it a bit of pharisaism on the part of a recently naturalized New Yorker to assume that the rest of the country is not as tolerant as sophisticated Gotham, in spite of our Grover Whalen?

Fanny Bixby Spencer

With profound regret we have learned of the passing, after a six weeks' critical illness in a Los Angeles hospital, of Fanny Bixby Spencer. Mrs. Spencer was one of the West Coast's finest and most courageous spirits. She was one of the group of Christian Socialists and pacifists who during the war were raided while they were attending a religious gathering in Los Angeles, and throughout the entire period she suffered persecution and calumny. To her friends she often voiced a deep disillusionment, but it never made her cynical. After the war she labored in every way she could for the promotion of uncompromising pacifism and economic justice, using her pen, her personal influence, and her means in the aid of unpopular causes. "Faithfully your comrade"—thus she used to sign many of her letters. Faithful she was, indeed; unflinching to the end.

The United States and Latin America

A Proposed Program for a Non-Imperialistic Policy

JAMES WILFORD GARNER

Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois

BY one process or another the Caribbean sea has virtually become a North American lake. From Key West to Colon and the Gulf of Fonseca, there is a chain of United States coaling and naval stations, which includes Guantanamo, Bahia Honda and St. Thomas, "the Gibraltar of the West Indies."

In addition to these strategical defenses we have acquired by conquest or cession ownership of Porto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone and the Virgin Islands. Steadily and irresistibly, like a powerful glacier, we have moved southward until today our sovereignty virtually extends to the northern frontier of South America. In the words of the late President Harding, "the lure of the waters or the march of empire, or the call of commerce or inscrutable destiny have led us on."

This is not saying that the extension of our boundaries or our political control to the southward has all been in violation of the rights of sovereignty of our Caribbean or Central American neighbors. Some of it has certainly not been. I am merely stating a fact and it is this fact which has aroused the apprehension of the other countries of Latin America, who ask themselves where is this *Drang nach Süden* to end? Will it stop at the Panama Canal and the Gulf of Fonseca or will it go on until it reaches the Terra del Fuego, down to which a well-known American politician once asserted our sovereignty really extended and to which our fiat was the law.

If we examine the specific complaints which have been made of our Latin American policy, we shall find that some of them are directed against acts affecting particular states; others against our general policy in Latin America. Argentina, perhaps our most bitter critic among the countries south of the Panama Canal, complains that in the administration of our tariff law, we have treated her with arbitrariness and discrimination. By a succession of increased tariff rates, embargoes and regulations relative to the coloring of alfalfa seed, we have very nearly excluded from the United States her most important commodities of export: frozen beef and meat products, grapes, flaxseed, and alfalfa seed. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of this policy, and it has been criticized even in the United States, the effect has been to arouse an intense anti-American

sentiment throughout Argentina. It is understood that Argentina's feeling that we have not treated her fairly was responsible for her refusal to take part in the Pan-American Conference on Arbitration at Washington in January, 1929 or in the conference on consular procedure and trade marks, for leaving the Argentine embassy at Washington vacant for the past two years, for her failure to ratify the Kellogg Pact and for the embarrassing delay in extending an invitation to President-elect Hoover to visit that country during the course of his Latin-American trip following his selection.

COSTA RICA and Salvador have never forgiven us for the Bryan-Chamorro treaty by which we obtained from Nicaragua for \$3,000,000 a canal concession and the right to establish a naval base in the Gulf of Fonseca in violation of their rights of sovereignty, as was so held by the Central American International Court. In view of this decision by an International Court which the Central American republics had established at the suggestion of the United States and with its special benediction, our government might have taken the position that it did not desire and would not accept a concession which the Court had held to be invalid, and which violated the rights of two of our sister republics. It might have so notified Nicaragua and advised her to comply with the decision and cancel the treaty. But it did neither; it maintained an ominous silence and thereby encouraged Nicaragua to ignore the decision and bring the Court to an untimely end.

CUBA'S principal grievance against the United States grows out of the manner in which we have interpreted the so-called Platt Amendment. As is well known, the "Amendment" which is embodied in the Constitution of Cuba and in a treaty with the United States gives the United States the right to intervene in her affairs for "the preservation of Cuban independence and the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty." Cuba also agreed not to incur any debt which could not be paid out of the current revenues. When the Cuban Constitutional convention balked at the proposal, President McKinley in-

structed General Wood to give it assurances that the Platt Amendment did not authorize the United States to "intermeddle" with or "interfere" in the affairs of Cuba; and when a committee came to Washington to discuss the matter with Secretary Root, he reassured them on this point, told them that the clause relative to intervention was nothing more than an application of the Monroe Doctrine to the situation, that its object was merely to safeguard Cuba against foreign intervention and that the United States would exercise its right only to prevent such foreign intervention or to deal with extreme situations resulting from grave internal disturbances or threatened anarchy in the island. This just and reasonable interpretation was not followed by Secretary Knox who adopted a policy of "preventive intervention" which went far beyond the objects which the Platt Amendment manifestly intended to accomplish. Under the Wilson administration an amnesty law was disapproved on the ground that it would create an impression in the United States that criminals in Cuba went unpunished. Protest was also made against an amendment of the Crowder election law and against a proposed constitutional amendment extending the terms of senators and representatives, the latter because in the opinion of the United States government, it "very seriously attacked the principles of republican representative government, which should be responsible to the people at short intervals!" The Platt Amendment has been invoked to justify repeated intermeddling and interference in Cuban affairs, and strong pressure by interested American parties in Cuba and their friends in the United States is now being brought to bear upon the government to add another example to the already too long list of such interventions. Although the amendment is in the form of a treaty provision and under a well established principle of international law can only be interpreted by both parties jointly, it has in practice come to have the character of a unilateral act which the United States interprets for itself.

"The defense of the Panama Canal against hypothetical dangers can now be evoked, somewhat like the Monroe Doctrine, when no other reasons are available."

AMONG the Latin American policies of the United States of a more general character there are three which have been the object of widespread criticism. They are: (1) the policy of intervention; (2) the policy of recognition; and (3) the extension of the Monroe doctrine.

A well-known American historian is authority for the statement that the United States has intervened in some form in the affairs of certain Latin American republics not less than thirty times since the close

of the Spanish American War. It has been so frequent in late years that it has acquired almost the character of a habit. In every case it has been done by direction of the President alone without the authority of Congress. Sometimes it has consisted merely in the landing of marines, the occupation of a seaport or the seizure of the customs houses. Sometimes the occupation has extended over the entire country and has included the establishment of martial law and a censorship of the press, dissolution of the legislature, suppression of elections, assumption of governmental control or interference in other ways with the government of the country. Sometimes the intervention has involved the actual making of war, although since it was done without the authority of Congress it was not regarded by the President as creating a legal state of war.

The most common ground alleged in justification of the intervention was the protection of the lives and property of American citizens. The duty to protect American lives was relied upon to justify in part the intervention in Haiti in 1915, but reputable historians like Professor Buell have denied that any American lives were really in danger at the time. Sometimes additional reasons have been alleged, such as the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, defense of the Nicaragua canal concession or the duty to support a government recognized by the intervening President. All three of these reasons were relied upon to justify the recent intervention in Nicaragua. The defense of the Panama Canal against hypothetical dangers can now be invoked, somewhat like the Monroe Doctrine, when no other reasons are available. Thus President Coolidge in a message to Congress in which he sought to justify his intervention in Nicaragua referred to "the proprietary rights of the United States in the Nicaragua canal route" (the very dubious rights acquired under the Bryan-Chamorro treaty—rights which the Central American International Court held Nicaragua had no authority to grant) and "the necessary implications growing out of and affecting the Panama Canal"—which placed us in "a position of peculiar responsibility." How a petty revolution such as that against Diaz in Nicaragua could have jeopardized our control over the Panama Canal is not easy to see. Latin Americans will always regard that reason as a pretext or excuse and many patriotic North Americans view it in the same light.

Intervention in Latin America has usually been followed by military occupation which in some cases has lasted for years. In Nicaragua it has continued with some brief intermissions now for nearly two decades.

It has lasted in Haiti for fourteen years during which period the United States has maintained in power a succession of dictators who have been completely subservient to the government in Washington.

IT is characteristic of our policy of intervention in Latin America that we have never in any case consulted anybody but ourselves. As a Latin American critic puts it, the United States has in every case been its own judge, jury and executioner. The Latin Americans assert, and not without reason, that no government is wise and just enough to be allowed to judge for itself when and for what reason it may intervene in the internal affairs of another state. We might at least, they insist, consult in advance the governing board of the Pan American Union, composed as it is of the diplomatic representatives of all the Latin American governments at Washington, or discuss the matter with the governments of the most important South American countries, somewhat as President Wilson did when he invoked the mediation of the ABC powers in the case of our difficulties with Mexico. If they approved the proposed intervention, it would save us in large part from the general criticism to which we would otherwise be subjected. If they disapproved, and the United States then resorted to intervention, the onus of justifying our action would weigh upon us more heavily and we would be under a stronger pressure to confine the scope and methods of the intervention to its strictly legitimate objects.

When the Sixth Pan American Conference assembled at Havana in January, 1928, there was a strong sentiment throughout Latin America demanding that an effort be made at the conference to bring about the adoption of a declaration which would place some restriction upon the right of one American state to intervene in the affairs of another state.

"So far as can be determined, public sentiment throughout Latin America is very nearly unanimous in condemning our policy of intervention."

Unfortunately the declaration which was proposed, namely, that no state may intervene in the affairs of another, was too absolute and sweeping and the delegation of the United States can hardly be blamed for its opposition to the proposal. Nevertheless, the argument of Mr. Hughes that because international law recognizes the right of intervention—"interposition of a temporary character," as he preferred to call it—the rule could not be changed by a resolution of the American states only, was hardly to the point since the resolution merely proposed a rule of American

conduct, which was quite within the right of the American republics to adopt.

The records of the Conference show that the delegations of thirteen of the Latin American republics were in favor of a strong declaration against intervention and it was, of course, especially intended to put a curb on the freedom of action of the United States. The reason why the demand was not unanimous is easy enough to explain. Some of the Latin American delegates were the diplomatic representatives of their countries at Washington while others were ministers of foreign affairs. In both cases they sustained close official relations with the American Secretary of State who was the head of the United States delegation at Havana, and consequently they were hardly in a position to antagonize him at the Conference. Cuba was the host to the Conference and President Machado with an eye on the approaching session of the United States Congress at which a proposed increase of the tariff on Cuban sugar was down for consideration, was anxious that nothing should be done at Havana to offend the United States. He even went to the length of forbidding newspaper criticism of the United States and several anti-United States journalists from Haiti were excluded from the country. Under the circumstances the Cuban delegation supported the United States in its opposition to the proposed intervention resolution. The delegation of Mexico representing President Calles who was then, with the assistance of the good offices of Mr. Morrow, endeavoring to reach a settlement of its difficulties with the United States, was unwilling to do anything at Havana which would jeopardize the prospect of the settlement. The delegates of Haiti and Nicaragua were appointed by governments which were in power by virtue of American military support. Santo Domingo is virtually a protectorate of the United States. Costa Rica and Honduras had conservative governments which were friendly to the United States. Chile and Peru having submitted their Tacna-Arica dispute to the arbitration of the President of the United States, were hardly in a position to oppose his representative at Havana.

With this support and the clever strategy of Mr. Hughes, the United States was able to prevent the threatened eruption at the conference and to get the question of intervention postponed until the next conference. It is safe to say that the division among the government appointed delegates at Havana did not exist among their peoples. So far as can be determined, public sentiment throughout Latin America is very nearly unanimous in condemning our policy of intervention in those countries. The decision at Havana to postpone consideration of the question and the triumph of the United States was of doubtful

"We cannot go on forbidding Europe to intervene in Latin America while we ourselves continue to do so as often as we choose and for such reason as we alone regard as a sufficient justification."

value since it did not settle the question. It will continue to come up until what the Latin Americans regard a more just solution of the problem is reached. We cannot go on forbidding Europe to intervene in Latin America while we ourselves continue to do so as often as we choose and for such reason as we alone regard as a sufficient justification.

IT is not necessary that we should renounce absolutely the right of intervention. There are likely to be extreme cases in the future as there have been in the past where intervention will be justified under international law and the general practice of states. But there would seem to be no reason why we should not agree to a more precise conventional definition of the circumstances under which intervention shall be regarded as legitimate in the future. More important still, we might agree, as I have suggested, to some form of consultation either with the Pan American Union or other authority representing the Latin American states most affected. We might go even further and agree to the substitution of a system of intervention under collective authority, in the place of our present policy of single-handed intervention which leaves us to be the sole and final judge of the rectitude of our own conduct.

There is also an increasing sentiment in this country that the right of one state to intervene by armed force in the affairs of another state for the protection of private property and financial investments should be limited to extreme cases such as those where there has been flagrant discrimination or outrageous denial of justice. The argument of those who hold this view is that when an investor, not satisfied with the returns which his capital yields at home, goes into a more or less disorderly country where revolutions and civil disturbances are frequent and where for these very reasons the returns upon investments are higher, he should assume the risk and take his chances of protection under the laws to which he has voluntarily submitted himself. He should have no right therefore when his dollar gets into trouble to call on the taxpayers back home to send down a battleship to get it out of its difficulties.

THE policy of recognition followed by the government of the United States in late years has likewise been the object of much criticism not only in Latin America but also in our own country. The traditional policy, followed with rare exceptions for more

than a hundred years after the achievement of our independence, was to recognize new governments in Latin America, and elsewhere, whenever in the opinion of the President they were actually established in power, exercised, in fact, political control over a large part of the country and gave evidence of their willingness and ability to perform their international obligations. Where the constitutional right of a particular government to exercise authority was denied by the opposing party, the government of the United States regarded that as a domestic controversy as to the merits of which it had no right to be the judge.

This policy has been largely abandoned in late years and today it is the practice of the President virtually to sit in judgment in such controversies and to accord recognition to the particular government which in his opinion has the better legal claim or which, as is sometimes the case, is known to be more amiably disposed toward the United States. Sometimes, indeed, promises of good behavior and benevolence toward the United States, in the matter of treaty favors and concessions, have been required in advance as a condition precedent to recognition. President Coolidge even went to the length of asserting the principle that whenever the President recognizes a particular government in Latin America, it is his right, if not his duty, to support it and maintain it in power with the use of the armed forces of the United States, if necessary, and it was in pursuance of this theory that his intervention in Nicaragua was in part defended.

FINALLY, a feature of our foreign policy which is the object of increasing criticism throughout Latin America has been the steady extension, amounting in some cases to plain distortion, of the Monroe Doctrine. Certainly if Monroe were to come back to life today he would not recognize the policy which now masquerades under his honored name. Proclaimed originally as a policy of national defense and security for the United States, it has, the Latin Americans assert, been transformed into a policy of tutelage and hegemony over their republics and invoked on occasions to justify interventions in their affairs which had no real relation to the defense and security of the United States against aggression by non-American countries. The first of the extensions which aroused their criticism was that of President Roosevelt who interpreted the Monroe Doctrine to justify the right of the United States to exercise an "international police power" over Latin American republics which were guilty of "wrong-doing or impotence." In short, he converted it from an instrument of protection against European aggression into an instrument which gives the United States the right of intervention in their affairs.

President Coolidge who gave it the latest extension,

interpreted it as imposing on the United States the duty of protecting British and other foreigners in Latin American countries, this on the theory that since the Monroe Doctrine, as he viewed it, did not permit European states to intervene in the countries of this hemisphere for the protection of their nationals, we were bound to assume the obligation to protect them ourselves.

"It is hard to avoid the conclusion that if the defense of the Monroe Doctrine afforded any justification whatever for the intervention in Nicaragua, it can be invoked in support of any intervention which the United States may choose to have recourse to hereafter in any Latin American republic."

AS is well known, the recent intervention in Nicaragua was justified in part by some of the President's supporters on the ground that the Monroe Doctrine was menaced by the revolution against Diaz. But as Senator Borah in his criticism of the intervention correctly pointed out, the Monroe Doctrine was not at all involved. There was, he said, no non-American power seeking to acquire territory in Central America, nor was any non-American power seeking in any way to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that if the defense of the Monroe Doctrine afforded any justification whatever for the intervention in Nicaragua, it can be invoked in support of any intervention which the United States may choose to have recourse to hereafter in any Latin American republic. The truth is we are distorting what is a perfectly sound and defensible principle of our foreign policy, extending it far beyond the objects which it was intended to accomplish, or the logical corollaries which are deducible from it, attributing to it a rôle out of all proportion to its importance and of exalting it into an obsession or cult. Since the War it has been invoked again and again against our co-operation with the other nations in common undertakings for the advancement of the general peace. We demanded that President Wilson get it incorporated into the Covenant of the League of Nations which we then refused to join, so that now we are in a position to capitalize the value of the international sanction, while we remain outside and interpret it as we please; the Senate in its ratification of the Kellogg Pact virtually reserved for the United States the right to fight for it; and during the past year we have insisted on putting it into a large number of bilateral arbitration treaties which relieve us of the obligation to arbitrate any dispute over which we choose to spread the cloak of James Monroe.

Large numbers of our own people as shown by the books and articles that have lately been written on the Monroe Doctrine, by the speeches of public men like Senator Borah and by extensive questionnaires such as that of Mr. Kirby Page, feel that our attitude both as to the interpretative extensions of the Doctrine and the refusal to treat it as a coöperative Pan American policy is wrong and should be altered in the interest, not only of justice and fair play to our Latin American neighbors but also in the interest of good-will, friendship and mutual confidence among the peoples of America. This does not mean that we should abandon the principle of the Monroe Doctrine as a policy of national defense; the Latin Americans do not ask us to do that; they do not in fact desire that we should do it; they do not even object to the deduction from Monroe's pronouncement of the corollaries which logically result from it. What they do complain of is the insistence of the United States on being the sole and exclusive interpreter of what it means and of extensions which they feel have transformed it from a policy of defense into a cloak or screen to cover policies of the United States for advancing its own interests in violation of their dignity, independence and sovereignty.

I VENTURE to suggest in conclusion the following outline of a Latin American policy for the United States which it is believed would be practicable, reasonable and just and which if adopted would remove the principal causes of the present dissatisfaction among the Latin American people and restore the confidence and trust which they once reposed in the United States.

One. *Conclude a convention with the Latin American republics defining in as definite terms as practicable the circumstances under which armed intervention by one American state in the affairs of another shall in the future be regarded as legitimate and permissible under American international law.* This convention should place definite restrictions on the exercise of the right of intervention and limit it to extreme cases such as those in which the national defense, security, sovereignty or dignity of the intervening state are involved. The claim of right on the part of the United States to intervene in a Latin American republic for the purpose of installing and keeping in power a particular government against the apparent will of a majority of the population, or for the purpose of upholding the Monroe Doctrine, except in the event of imminently threatened European or Asiatic aggression, should be expressly renounced. So should the right of armed intervention to protect investors, promoters, concession holders and owners of private property except in cases of deliberate confiscation, in violation of established principles of international law.

grant denial of justice or refusal of the offending state to submit the question of the legality of its conduct to international arbitration.

The United States might also agree that whenever it contemplates armed intervention in the affairs of a Latin American state it will consult the governing board of the Pan American Union or the governments of the principal powers of Latin America, giving the reasons for its proposed intervention, but with a reservation, that their opinion shall not necessarily be considered as binding or controlling upon it. When an intervention involves the conduct of military, naval or aerial operations in a foreign country, which give the character of war in a material sense, the approval of Congress should be required and a law should be passed forbidding the President to use the armed forces in such cases without its authorization.

Two. *The recently adopted recognition policy of the United States should be abandoned and a return made to the traditional practice followed for more than a hundred years, of recognizing new governments in Latin America whenever they have succeeded in establishing their authority over the greater part of the country and give evidence of their willingness and ability to protect foreigners and perform their other international obligations.* The government of the United States should cease acting as a judge of the merits of controversies between opposing parties in Latin American States and of according recognition to that one of the contestants which we favor either because it appears to have a preponderance of legal right on its side, because it is more favorably disposed toward the United States, or because it is willing to give promises in respect to its future conduct toward the United States. The recently proclaimed principle that when the President of the United States recognizes a government in Latin America it is his right and duty to support it and maintain it in power, the use of the armed forces if necessary, should be definitely and permanently abandoned.

Three. *Our whole attitude toward the Monroe Doctrine should be fundamentally altered. It should be interpreted in its original sense as nothing more than a policy of national defense and security for the United States against European or Asiatic aggression. The action of the government should be in strict accord with that interpretation.* This was the reason for its enunciation and it is the only justification for its continued maintenance. We should cease invoking it as our excuse for intervention in Latin American affairs except in the rare cases when it may be necessary to prevent aggression by a non-American power. It would greatly increase Latin American respect for it without sacrificing any of its value to the United States as a policy of national defense, if we would consent to convert it into a Pan American

policy and admit the Latin American republics to a joint partnership with us in its interpretation and application. President Roosevelt declared himself in favor of this idea in an address at Rio de Janeiro in 1913 and President Wilson in two addresses appears to have sympathized with it.

Four. *Return to the original interpretation of the Platt Amendment which, as McKinley and Root assured the Cubans, was intended to give the United States the right of intervention in Cuba only in extreme cases such as threatened anarchy and the danger of intervention by foreign powers.* Discontinue the practice followed under several administrations of vetoing the domestic policies of the Cuban government and of otherwise interfering in its political affairs when it has no relation, direct or remote, to the objects which the Platt Amendment was designed to accomplish. Since the provisions of the Platt Amendment are embodied in a treaty between two independent republics, we should concede the right of the Cuban government, in case of controversy relative to claims of the United States thereunder, to a share in the interpretation of the treaty, instead of treating it as if it were a unilateral act and imposing on Cuba our own interpretation. In case an effort at mutual interpretation should lead to no agreement in a particular case we should be willing to submit the controversy to international arbitration.

Five. *Ratify, with possibly a reservation of Article 4 (which empowers the arbitral tribunal to formulate the compromise in case the parties are unable to agree upon its terms), the Inter American treaty of Arbitration signed at Washington on January 5, 1929 by the plenipotentiaries of twenty of the twenty-one American republics, including the United States.* This treaty binds the ratifying parties to submit to arbitration all juridical differences of an international character, with a few relatively unimportant exceptions, which may arise between them and which cannot be settled by diplomacy. Since disputes between the United States and Latin republics involving the Monroe Doctrine and those with Cuba involving the Platt Amendment are not specifically excepted by the terms of the treaty, the United States should admit its obligation to arbitrate them along with the others.

Six. *Agree to the establishment of a permanent international claims commission to decide controversies between the United States and Latin American republics involving pecuniary claims for losses and damages sustained by the nationals of each country on account of wrongs in violation of treaties and international law, and for which the respondent country is responsible.* We are already bound by a convention concluded in 1902 to submit such disputes with Latin American states to arbitration but there is no machinery for giving effect to the convention. If a

dispute of this kind arises it is necessary to conclude a special agreement, to which the consent of the Senate is essential, and then constitute the commission, both of which tasks mean long delay and sometimes failure of agreement. If a permanent commission were established and the necessity of a special agreement for each particular case were removed, the flood of claims against Latin American countries which now pour into the Department of State and many of which are the subject of prolonged correspondence and controversy, would go almost automatically to the commission, for judicial settlement.

Seven. *Finally, the United States should adopt the policy of appointing as diplomatic representatives to the Latin American countries men of distinction and diplomatic experience, who speak the language of the country to which they are accredited and who are known to be in sympathy with the desire to strengthen and promote better understanding and mutual goodwill between the United States and the Latin American peoples.* The important services rendered by Ambassador Morrow in the settlement of our disputes with Mexico and the marked improvement in the relations between the two countries, which has been brought about by his wise, sympathetic and tactful conduct, afford a striking illustration of the fruitful possibilities of the policy suggested. President Hoover has announced his intention of following this policy.

THE President has given further evidence of his interest in Latin America and his sincere wish to remove if possible some at least of the causes of complaint. He broke all precedents by visiting personally after his election and before his inauguration, eleven of their countries and it is announced that he contemplates visiting others. When in Argentina he gave an interview with *La Prensa* in which he indicated that he was not in sympathy with the recent policy of intervention by the United States in Latin American affairs and left the impression that his own policy would be different. Later in his Armistice Day address, thinking undoubtedly of our relations with Latin America, he spoke of the task of removing causes of friction and ill-will, referred to the "colossal power of the United States which overshadows scores of freedom-loving nations" whose only protection against us was a moral defense, and declared it to be his cherished hope to conduct our foreign relations, not in diplomatic phrases, but with deeds and in such a manner as to inspire the people of those nations with confidence in the justice and high moral purpose of the American people. Many of his countrymen hope that his administration may mark the beginning of a new era in our relations with Latin America—one which will see a return of the esteem and confidence

in which we were once held, and with it the restoration of the moral leadership which we once exercised. Let us hope that they will not be disappointed.

The Trans-Neptunian Planet

LOST in the dark, where vagabond comets play
And the pale sun blinks star-like far away,
What groping races haunt your desolate shore,
There where the ice fills sea and valley floor
And a dense twilight is the only day?

Lost in the dark, do blundering seekers stray,
Huddled in caves, to hear black whirlwinds roar?
And do they beat vain arms at fate, and pray,
Lost in the dark?

What if, with torch-like vision, they survey
More fortunate planets? If their lamps betray,
Dim and far-off, as through a half-shut door,
Our earth whirl sunward, bathed in tears and gore?
Then they may nod with wondering smiles, and say
"Lost in the dark!"

STANTON A. COBLENTZ

Sayings of Cascabél

In an accident it is well to have presence of mind and, if possible, absence of body.

*

Economy is a virtue which consists of denying oneself necessary things today in order to buy unnecessary things tomorrow.

*

When something happens to a person he hasn't any time to write about it; and when nothing happens to him he hasn't anything to write about.

*

According to statistics, the average family is composed of 5.1 persons. It is needless to say that the decimal point refers to the husband.

*

The high heel was thought of by a woman who was kissed on the forehead.

*

Philanthropy consists in publicly returning what has been secretly obtained.

—*The Sayings of César Cascabél, appearing daily in La Nación of Santiago.*

Comments on Professor Garner's Program

Lewis Gannett

Writer, Editor, and Student of Latin-American Relations

What we need is not so much new treaties as a new attitude toward Latin America and Latin Americans. Attempts to define a relationship may even aggravate frictions already existing because we as a people still object to any limitation upon our complete freedom of action, and the smaller Latin Republics still in upon an unrealistic acceptance of the diplomatic fiction of equality of sovereign states. I cannot conceive any convention regarding intervention which the United States Senate and Argentina, Costa Rican, Mexican, etc., parliaments would accept.

Agreeing then with Mr. Garner's statesmanlike analysis of the problem, I fear that his constructive suggestions tend, like all pan-cut, idealistic, "constructive" suggestions, to be too precise and too legalistic. Before our national attitude can usefully be crystallized in a document, it needs time for remodeling. That process, I think, is already under way; it needs acceleration. The acceptance—even encouragement—by the United States of a revolution in Santo Domingo was a sign of official change; no longer do we insist that God and principle and property require us to oppose every mass action in a Latin republic. Every "Spanish-style" house built in Miami, San Diego, or a suburb of Chicago is a stage in a change of national attitude. But we have a long way to go. In particular, our attitude toward "defense of the Panama Canal," still crassly big-stick, unilateral and imperialistic, needs wholesale evolution.

Paul H. Douglas

Professor of Industrial Relations, University of Chicago

I am in complete sympathy with Professor Garner's analysis of the present situation and with his recommendations for future policy. I would emphasize the necessity for some other body—Pan-American Union or the League of Nations—having power to determine whether or not intervention on our part is justified. No person, however righteous, can be trusted to judge in a case in which he is a party. At present, however, we are judge, policeman, and sheriff in such matters, and this is thoroughly unsatisfactory as an ultimate solution. The participation of other nations in the determination of intervention policy would not bring automatic angels into the picture, as many naive internationalists seem to believe. But it would bring neutrals with relatively few teeth to grind. Perhaps the chief value of the League of Nations is that it permits nations to be high-minded about matters which do not immediately concern them. It is probably only in such matters that we may, in this naughty world, except high-mindedness, and we should take every opportunity of utilizing it.

Joseph Schlossberg

General Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

All violent intervention by one state in the domestic affairs of another is a crime. Restrictive rules will be permissive rules and legalize the crime instead of stopping it. Create an emergency rule for imperialistic intervention and you create the emergency. The only way to stop intervention is to stop it, without ifs and buts. If, however, there must be a restrictive rule instead of absolute prohibition, I suggest this rule: "The President of the United States shall have no power to send troops into any other state without specific authorization from Congress." Fundamentally there is no real difference between a declaration of war,

which Congress alone can make, and military intervention. The debates in Congress which would probably be called forth by the President's request for power to act would be altogether likely to serve as a check. They would, at any rate, present to the American people the facts which they do not get now. Only a rule like that would hold out some measure of protection.

Roger Baldwin

Director, American Civil Liberties Union

Professor Garner's article is good as far as it goes. I would like to see him come out with a four-square statement that we never can deal rightly with Latin America until we deal with little nations just as we deal with big. All of his remedies are based on the very justified and realistic position that the United States is not going to deal with little nations as it does with the big and powerful.

But those of us who are radicals in international relations must continue to stress the morality of no discrimination. What we ought to do is to withdraw every marine, military and naval adviser, and protection from investors and put our Latin-American statesmanship on precisely the same basis as our European.

John Haynes Holmes

Minister, Community Church of New York

I have read Professor Garner's article and find myself wondering why you should have given to it seven pages of the limited and invaluable space in our paper. The article is long and learned, but it seems to me to say nothing that has not been said many times before. You speak of the article as "striking." The only thing that strikes my attention is Professor Garner's statement that "it is not necessary that we (the United States should renounce absolutely the right of intervention" in Latin American countries. Why should we not renounce this right? On what basis of justice or good-will did we ever assume the right? Would Professor Garner be so good as to specify conditions under which it would be right for the United States to intervene in England, or France, or Italy? I cannot conceive of such conditions, and if they do not exist in these cases, why should they exist in any Latin-American cases? The right of intervention is based upon the possession of superior military power, and is thus fundamentally a right of force and violence. I believe that this so-called right is infamous under all conditions and should be renounced absolutely. Apart from this one statement, Professor Garner's seven solemnly stated principles of policy are utterly commonplace and contribute neither light nor leading.

Charles A. Beard

Author Economic Basis of Politics, The Rise of American Civilization, etc.

Professor Garner is one of the very first students of American foreign relations and has combined practice with theory in attaining his position. Anything he says on the subject is bound to be weighty and deserves serious consideration. It seems to me—a plain American citizen—that his program for dealing with Latin-American affairs is sane, constructive, and in the best interest of all parties concerned. If it were adopted by the Government of the United States, a happier epoch would open on this hemisphere, one marked by more, not less, business for the producers of this country. It is commended by good economics as well as Christian ethics.

John Nevin Sayre

Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Vice-Chairman Committee on Militarism in Education

With most of Professor Garner's article I am in agreement. If space permitted, I should like to comment on its many excellent points, but so emphatically do I disagree with one key-position in his program that I feel I must center my fire upon it alone. To my mind, Professor Garner makes a fatal concession when he says, "It is not necessary that we should renounce absolutely the right of intervention." To one who has been an eye-witness of intervention in Nicaragua and had some experience with the face-saving subterfuges of governments, Professor Garner's proposals for limiting intervention seem academic.

In the first place, it would probably be impossible to persuade most of the Latin-American republics to enter into a convention defining the circumstances under which they would regard armed intervention by the United States as legitimate. Even if this were done, a convention whose "extreme cases" were "those in which the national defense, security, sovereignty or dignity of the intervening state are involved," would be absolutely worthless. In its past interventions, the United States government has not hesitated to plead such excuses as the above. Why does not Professor Garner include also "national honor?" Furthermore, even if there were not the difficulty of justly defining "extreme cases" in such a way that the definition could not be twisted to cover the *sub rosa* objectives of defense of investments or the Panama Canal, limited intervention would still be unjustified because of its inhuman and unrighteous *method*.

Military interventions do not, like ordinary police power, result so much in the capture and restraint of criminals, as they do in *massacre of the innocent*. They violate the most elemental canons of justice because they are carried out against populations residing within political frontiers which do not coincide with moral boundaries; because they deal out death in a mass manner with no regard for distinctions of personal innocence or guilt. . . .

The curse of military intervention would not be removed by giving it the blessing of the Pan American Union or a group of governments. Has Professor Garner forgotten the atrocities of the joint allied intervention in Peking at the time of the Boxer trouble? Or does he suppose for one moment that Latin American governments would be on anything like a position of equality with the United States in *consulting* about intervention? Would not the same sort of inhibitions prevent many of them from taking a stand against our wish to intervene, as operated in the Havana Conference? Professor Garner has exactly described that situation, but the particular cases which he cites are only symptoms of the underlying inequality between the "Colossus of the North" and most of the Latin-American nations who owe us money or depend in other vital ways on the favor of our State Department. Besides, a Latin-American government which "consulted" and agreed to intervention might not at all represent the real will of its people. A puppet president in Nicaragua, depending for his continuance in office on the aid of the United States, invited our Marines to come in. His successor, depending on the same aid, wishes them to stay. Consultation with hand-picked Latin-American governments provides no security against unjust intervention.

So, also, the consent of the United States Senate is not an effective safeguard. What difference would it make to Haitian peasants, mowed down by United States machine guns, whether our Congress shared this responsibility with the President or not?

There is only one practical way to get rid of the evils of military intervention and that is to prohibit it entirely. The Kellogg Pact will not be worth the paper on which it is written if in addition to the loopholes for "defense," and "billion dollar parity" in the instruments of war armed intervention is also allowed. Sir Austin

Chamberlain proposed this to cover British defense interests, in certain unspecified regions of the globe. But if the peace group of England and America concede the rights of limited intervention to their respective governments, they might as well let the world forget that a Pact of Paris was ever signed. "Pacifism" exists, or can be devised to meet every emergency better than military means. A recent Study Conference of representatives of thirty-seven religious organizations was on solid practical and moral ground when it stated, "It is our conviction that the policy of armed intervention in any American country by the United States should be abandoned. If situations should arise which seem to demand intervention by outside nations, we believe the United States should take the initiative in inviting other nations concerned into conference regarding the situation, with a view to pacific adjustment."

B. C. Vladeck

Socialist Leader; Manager, Jewish Daily Forward

THE WORLD TOMORROW is doing a great service to the cause of peace by broadcasting Professor Garner's article on *The United States and Latin America*. Its plain facts, inevitable conclusion and moderate tone should impress every thinking citizen with the folly of our present attitude toward our Southern neighbors.

One may differ with Dr. Garner as to whether any form of intervention at any time and under any circumstances is morally justifiable, but his policy is based on an appeal to the average intelligence of America and as such, it is admirable.

Samuel Guy Inman

Executive Secretary, Committee on Coöperation in Latin America

No one who has travelled even a little bit in Latin America and kept his ear to the ground can fail to realize that the question of intervention is the principal one that is keeping us apart from the American continent. . . .

The whole program of the Sixth Pan-American Conference in Havana two years ago revolved around this question of intervention. The discussion there and many others that I have had with Latin Americans raised the question as to the possibility of carrying out the first suggestion made by Professor Garner, namely that we should sign agreements with Latin America defining the circumstances under which armed intervention in America might take place. During the Havana discussion Dr. Pueyrredon, the Argentine Ambassador, was backed by a great majority of the Latin-American delegates when he declared: "Intervention—diplomatic or armed, permanent or temporary—is an attempt against the independence of nations and cannot be justified on the plea of the duty of protecting the interests of citizens. For the weak nations cannot exercise such a right when their citizens suffer damages, during convulsions in strong states."

Later in a meeting of a sub-committee a Costa Rica delegate tried to get a resolution endorsed providing for joint intervention under certain circumstances but even the sub-committee would not agree.

It also should be pointed out that at Havana a resolution was adopted definitely preventing the Pan-American Union from treating political questions, which would eliminate Professor Garner's suggestion about the United States submitting its contemplated interventions to that Union, unless this ruling were changed.

In pointing out these things I do not mean to suggest that there is no way of working out any kind of intervention when it is clearly needed, except the unilateral kind used up to the present. I do feel, however, that we must work toward abandonment of interventions and not take it for granted that these are going to occur as in the past. Usually we might better pay the bills for any damages made to the property of Americans in a particular country like Haiti or Nicaragua (very seldom is the life of Ame-

ns endangered) rather than undergo the criticism and hatreds developed in other parts of Latin America because of such intervention.

As to Professor Garner's second suggestion, I believe he is correct in recommending the abandonment of our present practice of non-recognition of Latin-American governments. This practice looked at first like a perfectly good one as a means of discouraging revolution in Latin America; but as it has worked out, means that a country may find no way of turning out a tyrannical dictatorship that continues its own power; also that the United States might use this non-recognition as a means of dictating the external policies of a Latin-American country and requiring certain economic advantages as the price of recognition.

As to the third, fourth and seventh suggestions, these have been made before and no doubt would find general approval among broad-minded people. The ratification of the Inter-American Treaty of arbitration, now before the Senate, is, of course, of fundamental importance. The conference at Washington was called under the inspiration of the United States Government and Secretary Kellogg and Mr. Hughes acted as our delegates in working for this arbitration treaty. Several Latin-American countries have already signed it and for the United States to fail here would lower our prestige in Latin America in a very fatal way.

David S. Muzzey

Professor of History, Columbia University

Professor Garner's unanswerable indictment of our policy of encroachment upon the autonomy of the weaker Latin-American republics during the last quarter of a century must wake an approving response in the mind of every advocate of fair play in international relations and every lover of America's fair name. For the elimination of the poison of "Yankee imperialism" which has been administered in Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua, Cuba and other regions of the Caribbean, by unjustified and forceful interventions under the cover of the Monroe Doctrine and the Platt Amendment, or for the protection of financial and industrial interests, without the consent of Congress and pretty generally without the knowledge of the American people, Professor Garner suggests a new Latin-American policy which he believes would restore the somewhat shattered confidence of the republics of the South in the disinterested friendship and justice of the United States. The crucial point, I believe, is contained in Professor Garner's first proposition, namely, that we abandon our position as sole judge of the necessity for intervention in Latin-American affairs (a position maintained with such dictatorial curtness at the fifth Pan-American Congress) and substitute therefor a genuine Pan-American policy in which we should become the associate rather than the boss of our sister republics on this hemisphere—a policy to which our high officials have paid ample lip service, but scant respect. . . .

Earle K. James

Editor, Chile

I believe that Professor Garner's analysis of the fundamental sources of irritation in the relations of the United States and Latin America is one of the best brief statements on this subject that I have read. As to his suggestions for a proposed Latin-American policy for the United States, I most earnestly believe that it is essential, and immediately so, that the Monroe Doctrine be definitely given its original interpretation or made a multi-parallel document, clear, unambiguous, and satisfactory to all concerned. A wise policy of recognition is also to be desired, as the chief fact that the United States is imperialistic, interfering in our internal affairs, and thwarting legitimate progress has been fostered by the non-recognition of truly liberal, progressive governments, interested in the uplifting of the masses, and the support

given to reactionary dictators or to puppets willing to dance to the tune played by foreign investors. Such thwarting of progress in this respect is more serious than is often recognized, and causes Latin Americans to wonder how the United States can talk of progress while at the same time she seems to stifle it. Nicaragua has been an excellent example, and the trials of Mexico are also illustrative. . . .

I am doubtful as to the practicability or wisdom of a convention regarding armed intervention. I see little hope of agreement as to the bases for such intervention, particularly as measures of policy like the Drago and Calvo doctrines proposed by Latin Americans have not been found acceptable by the United States; also in view of the fact that "American international law" as yet exists more in theory than in practice. Pacts and machinery furthering arbitration, consultation as specific crises arise, coöperation in settlement of disputes and so forth are urgently needed, provided in part today by the activities of the Pan-American Union, an institution, however, that is not structurally or functionally designed for the performance of these tasks, and which itself is bitterly suspected by many Latin-Americans as an instrument dominated by the United States Government. These criticisms were expressed in the last Pan-American Conference. The trend today appears to be towards institutions modeled after the World Court and the League of Nations. These two are supposed to serve Latin America as well as Europe and Asia. In effect they do not, largely because of the Monroe Doctrine and the inevitable supremacy of European interests. If geographic factors and the policy of the United States towards the American states makes these two institutions almost inoperative in American affairs, a satisfactory substitute should be found for them. . . .

William E. Dodd

Professor of American History, University of Chicago

In so far as my acquaintance with American relations in Latin America goes, I would say that everything Dr. Garner has said is entirely true. . . .

As to Professor Garner's suggested reforms, one may say that they at least offer remedies. It is a difficult thing for a great country, having embarked upon a policy of exploitation, to acknowledge its sin, but only a great government is able to do that without loss of dignity, and I hope that there may be a widespread discussion of these propositions.

The least that the United States could do would be to return to the policy inaugurated in 1914 of consulting with leading Latin-American states before any intervention should be decided upon. There is no question that the United States is disliked—even hated—over nearly all of Spanish and Portuguese America.

Oswald Garrison Villard

Editor, The Nation

I have carefully read Professor Garner's article and find myself very much in accord with its temper and tone, and in agreement with most of its conclusions. There are one or two points, however, in regard to which I must enter my dissent. I am opposed to any convention with the Latin-American republics legalizing the possibility of armed intervention, and stipulating when it shall be "regarded as legitimate and permissible under American international law." Why should there be a special American international law? Why should we grant to ourselves the right to intervene forcibly? Once that right is established it is bound to be abused. I am opposed to the use of force in the Caribbean under any conditions. This whole idea that we shall be the policeman of the Caribbean is utterly repugnant. The simple fact is that we would not think of intervening if our neighbors were large and powerful.

In Haiti—and Out?

HELENA HILL WEED

A NEW day for Haiti dawns on the horizon. The report of the Forbes Commission, sent by President Hoover to devise a plan for ending the Occupation, is however a curious mixture. It recognizes wrongdoing in the past, shows honesty of purpose for the future, praises those who perpetrated the wrongs and is silent upon the responsibility for them.

The resulting compromises with the truth approach the ridiculous—as when the glowing praise of General Russell for “his whole-hearted and single-minded devotion to the interests of Haiti” is nullified by the next words, “as he saw them.”

The Commission evidently did not see eye to eye with him, for it criticized his failure to understand the social problems of Haiti and his efforts to reorganize its entire social and educational system to accord with his personal whims; it forecast the abolishment of the Service Technique, which he had organized to carry out that social revolution; it condemned the race prejudice and abuse which had permeated his entire regime; it admitted and indirectly denounced the military violence and political immorality that had characterized his administration as High Commissioner; it ended by recommending the abolishment of this office and the recall of General Russell himself.

Pierre Hudicourt, a famous international lawyer, tersely disposed of the flowery compliments to General Russell by saying, “We Haitians regard these encomiums as funeral wreaths laid upon a dead past.”

THE universal demand of Haitians was for the immediate reestablishment of constitutional government and disoccupation. They refused to appear before the Commission as complainants because they were absolutely unwilling to endure any continuation of the subjugation of Haiti. The long history of political violence, racial abuse and economic and financial exploitation had produced such a national state of mind that the Haitian people—men and women alike—were ready to be shot down by machine guns, in an unarmed revolt, rather than longer submit to their national degradation.

Realizing that conditions were so acute that the scheduled election of a new president on April 14th, by the Occupation-controlled Council of State, and the perpetuation of this regime for six years more, would result in another Amritsar for which the civilized world would hold the United States responsible, the Commission formulated plans for the immediate pop-

ular election of the National Chambers (which in turn would elect the new president in the constitutional way), and the dissolution of the Council of State. This plan was worked out with the friendly cooperation of the Opposition and the reluctant compliance of the Borno regime. It is already in operation through the election of Eugene Roy as temporary President to conduct the general elections and administer the Government during the period of readjustment.

President Hoover approved this plan and promised that no government but the one established under it would be recognized by the United States.

THE Commission, one notes with relief, no longer attempted to perpetuate the myth that Intervention was justified by international law. It admits the facts of violence by which Intervention was effected. Haitian sovereignty was destroyed, and American domination was set up and maintained over this recognized independent member of the family of nations. The diplomatic praise of those who carried out the orders of the American State Department counts for little in view of the findings and recommendations which are based on a determination to return to honest and moral international procedure.

While the Commission did not direct the cancellation of the Treaty of 1916 which was extorted from Haiti by force and fraud, nor admit the illegality of its extension from 1926 to 1936, an indirect repudiation was made in recommending immediate change in work being done under its aegis, and in the prompt preparation of new treaty agreements to supplant it. The appointment was recommended of a regular minister to Haiti, who would have no more authority in drawing up the new treaty agreement than any minister would have in any other independent country. It was admitted that the constitutional government of Haiti would be free to agree to or reject the suggestions made for future cooperative agreements between the United States and Haiti.

The Haitian elements represented before the Commission themselves desired that the coming popular election be arranged and conducted by the Marine Government, because, in the destruction of constitutional government, all electoral machinery had been scrapped. It was agreed in Haiti that each candidate for the presidency could have his own watchers at the polls, and that Marine participation would be purely administrative and protective. Latin American criticism

at "the Commission is seeking to perpetuate military domination by delaying disoccupation measures until after this election" are therefore most unjust to the Commission.

The one thing that Haiti resents in the report is the retention of General Russell as High Commissioner during the period of readjustment, and the failure to prevent his coöperation with Presidentorno during the remaining weeks of the latter's power, in making new "laws" and granting new concessions, sales and leases of Haiti's natural resources. Her people feel that restrictions should be made at once if Haitian sovereignty is honestly being restored, especially in view of the recommendation that "Haiti must respect the foreign rights acquired under the occupation."

MAITRE GEORGES LEGER said, in summing up the reasons why Haiti demanded an immediate end of the farce of "teaching her respect for constitutional government and law and order," as well as "training in modern methods of governmental administration and economic development":

"Coöperation, not domination, was what you promised us in entering Haiti. We have not received it. You seized our country and our treasury and ran them to suit yourselves, without regard to our wishes. You introduced race prejudice here, sending such an unfortunate choice as General Russell to insult and dominate our people. You have maintained a Financial Adviser here who collects all our revenues and spends them at will. The services which are aimed to teach us how to conduct our government are filled up with highly paid American 'experts' not only who exclude our competent Haitians from all profitable government employment but prevent their receiving the training which you promised to give us. You are destroying our French educational system and substituting for it a form of industrial and agricultural training that is opposed to common sense and to the national needs of Haitians. You have failed to train Haitians for command in our police force. You have alienated our soil to foreigners. You have destroyed the independence of our judges and made them subject to political pressure. You have quartered your Marines in our country and ruled us by a cruel enforcement of martial law, making Americans feel that this is their country and that they are protected in doing what they will here. Because of all this we Haitians feel that the few material benefits that we have received are not worth the price we have been compelled to pay for them."

The findings of the report are an effective confirmation of all these charges. "The American Occupation is accepted, if not indeed encouraged, this state of affairs," says the Commission.

Historical evidence seems to lay the responsibility for the policy of the Intervention and Occupation at the doors of the National City Bank, through its Vice-president Roger Farnham, whom most Haitians regard as the chief author of their troubles with the

United States. He outlined the exact policy which has been followed by the Occupation in Haiti when he appeared before the McCormick Committee in 1921, saying:

"I believe that Haiti can be made exceedingly productive in certain lines—sugar, coffee, cotton and tobacco. I think that the Haitian can be taught to become a good and efficient laborer. . . . He is as peaceful as a child and as harmless . . . nothing but grown up children. . . . I think that if a policy could be put into effect in Haiti which would . . . establish for some years a direct and complete control over the finances of the country . . . it would be but a few years before Haiti would be able to take care of all of her obligations out of her revenues."

THE principal foreign obligation (outside of her national debt, which was bonded in France and had always been regularly served), was the claim of the National Railroad of Haiti, in which the National City Bank had an original interest of \$500,000, lent to the contractors, an interest which was later increased to 70% of the \$3,545,000 in railroad bonds. Included in the railroad's claims against the government was an annual salary of \$24,000 for Mr. Farnham, as president and receiver of the defunct road and one of \$20,000 annually for his legal adviser. The original contract for the road was tainted with fraud and had never been carried out. Haiti did not refuse to pay this claim but asked for arbitration on it, as she had the right to do under the Hague Conventions, claiming extortion and fraud, but the State Department delayed action while constantly demanding American control of Haiti's finances to compel payment of foreign obligations.

The ultimate cost to Haiti of this worthless, defunct railroad, after its claims were settled by the Occupation, was \$8,330,000, on which the bondholders made an admitted profit of about \$3,000,000.

Other financial interests of this bank in Haiti were her ownership of the Banque Nationale d'Haiti, which netted unwarranted profits¹ under the American control which Mr. Farnham devised; the large interest which the bank and those close to it had acquired in the internal debt, which, redeemed at par under this control, meant \$1,420 for every bond acquired by them at the prevailing rate of \$470; and the proposed loan (authorization for which had already been extorted from Haiti) of \$40,000,000, which would be handled through the Banque Nationale at a profit of 1% on all transactions.

Immediately after Mr. Farnham outlined his plan for control of Haiti—a plan which he said he had already twice outlined for the State Department, at

¹ *Occupied Haiti*, edited by Emily G. Balch, points out that the failure of the bank contract, negotiated by the Occupation, to require the market rates of interest on Haiti's surplus deposits, netted \$80,000 annually to the bank later, and that it was possible for the bank to earn \$10 on every \$1 of Haitian gold reserves under this contract. See pp. 37-54.

its request—the High Commissioner was appointed and evidently used this plan as a working basis, even in his attitude toward the Haitian people.

Haitians made many protests against the present policies of the Financial Adviser, though they conceded the honesty and efficiency of the administration.

They claimed that he was using the Haitian funds, allowed him under the treaty for administration purposes, to pay extravagant salaries (running from \$250 to \$650 a month) to a corps of American clerks, and was refusing to employ Haitians except in the lowest grades, thus denying them both training in administrative work and advancement in the civil service of their own government. The Financial Adviser replied that this 5% of gross revenues of the Republic was his to spend as he chose, provided he did the work properly.

The Forbes Commission found that this 5% was "a maximum within which he must operate, not a flat allowance," and added that the expenses of his and all the other American Treaty Services should be budgeted the same as was required of the services under the Haitian control. It proposed further that in the future the United States pay the salaries of Americans in the employ of the Haitian Government (in addition to those provided for in the treaty), evidently thinking that this change would lessen altruistic interest in reforming Haiti and result in fewer highly lucrative jobs for Americans at the expense of Haiti.

Under the Treaty of 1916 American control extended only to the collection of revenues, service of the foreign debt and supervision of accounts. *Assistance* was to be given the Haitian government in the establishment of an efficient police system, measures for public health, economic development and administrative training. Education and justice were left entirely under Haitian control.

Praising the Financial Adviser's office for the institution of modern devices for accurate, economical and expeditious management of accounts—in which praise Haitians join—the recent commission nevertheless scored the steady encroachments made on Haitian sovereignty through this office. "Little by little the American Occupation has extended its intervention in the financial operation of Haiti until 60% of the revenues are now spent under American supervision,"—a situation never contemplated by the treaty but brought about by "laws" forced through the Council of State, accords, understandings and conversations with officials of the puppet government.

UNSTINTED praise is given the Navy doctors for the magnificent work done by them, assisted by the Rockefeller Foundation, in stamping out disease and creating public health standards. Haiti joins

this praise, adding that it was not necessary to destroy her independence in order to give her this help. It is the only service which has really coöperated with Haitians. Already four of the ten public health districts are in full charge of Haitian doctors, trained in her own long-established Medical school, and young doctors, now receiving expert training in tropical diseases, will take over direction as fast as possible. Haiti asks that this disinterested help be kept up and promises to continue appropriations for its extension.

Sharp criticism is levelled at the police policy, while admitting its good work. Finding that no effective measures have been taken, in the fifteen years of full control, to train Haitians to take over this service the Commission recommends the immediate reestablishment of the Ecole Militaire and the prompt promotion of capable Haitians to positions of command. Haiti agreed to continue the employment of Americans provided their work was assistance, not domination.

Treaty agreements for economic development have been carried on under the Department of Public Works and the Financial Adviser's office.

Road building has been the great boast of the Occupation from its earliest days. As a matter of fact, the spectacular mountain roads, built by enslaved Haitians during the period of military subjugation, were simply the old roads laid out by French engineers in colonial days. They were broadened and made passable for military trucks, in order to effect more perfect military control of the country. They had no economic value, except the through cross country highway, and except for this highway, they have again fallen into disrepair. Haiti is too poor to maintain as yet such an extravagant, unnecessary road system.

Roads from the interior down the valleys to the seaports and good mountain trails for the peasants who carry everything on their heads or on burros and do not possess motor trucks, was what Haiti needed for economic development. Some progress has been made in such a system but the refusal to employ trained Haitian engineers in this work and extravagance in construction are subjects of complaint.

Paving of the city streets, begun by Haiti long before the Occupation, has gone ahead, and since the establishment of the American Club at Petionville in the mountains above Port au Prince a magnificent concrete road has replaced the old French gravel road up the gorge. A very expensive road is now being constructed to the resort on the towering mountain above Petionville. On this subject the Commission recommends that no new roads be built until sufficient appropriations can be made to care for those already constructed, and then only in the districts actually settled and under cultivation. This will be

a blow to concessionaires who planned to have their properties opened up at the expense of the Haitian Government.

ECONOMIC development of Haiti through the alienation of her soil to foreign agricultural exploiters, and the consequent driving of the peasants from land which they had held as their own for generations, has been the greatest crime of the Occupation in Haitian opinion. Aside from the measures of violence used to secure this right of foreign ownership of the soil—denial of which Haiti has always believed was the surest guarantee of her independence—Haitians feel that her already dense population, which is being increased through public health work, precludes the establishment of foreign-owned plantations of 25,000 acres, unless Haiti is to be changed from a nation of peasant farmers into a nation of agricultural laborers under foreign domination.

Many peasants have already been driven from their homes and are vagrant laborers. Others have emigrated. The present Financial Adviser says that no injustice has been done to individual peasants since he took office two years ago, and that he is trying to work out a homestead law to protect them in their squatter titles; but Haitians insist that foreign control of their land and the continued alienation of huge tracts, even though they are not now under cultivation, is a crime against future generations of Haitians.

Recognizing the scandals resulting from this compulsory alienation of the soil the Commission urges that the United States offer no objections to the reincorporation in the Haitian Constitution of this prohibition against foreign ownership of land, provided "the rights already acquired by foreigners are respected." This proviso explains why Haitians demand that no further sales, leases or concessions be permitted during the remaining weeks of the Borno-Russell regime.

Effective control of justice and education, omitted from the treaty, has in the past been secured through financial and political domination of the puppet government. It required a second illegal plebiscite—the vote of peasants who were regarded as too ignorant to elect their own president and legislature—to amend the American-made constitution and destroy the independence of the judiciary and make it the political creature of the dominated President. Restoration of this independence of the courts is declared by the Commission to be the free right of Haiti alone.

Efforts of the Occupation to destroy the educational system of Haiti and establish in its stead "industrial and agricultural education best suited to the needs of the country"—to quote the Financial Adviser—have aroused great bitterness. This bitterness has

been intensified because of the racial indignities which have accompanied the illegal encroachments on Haitian control of her educational system and ideals.

Free public education for the masses, and culture for its own sake for those able to acquire it, have been Haitian ideals for over 100 years. The long years of poverty, when the French indemnity of 150,000,000 francs was being paid off, and the disorganized years of her political evolution prevented Haiti from realizing this ideal. Nevertheless an educational system had been developed, especially after government subsidies had been given to Catholic and Protestant teaching missionaries. Lycees, colleges and professional schools had been in existence for many years and a degree of national literacy exceeding that of many Central American and some European countries had been established prior to the Intervention.

AN Elite, with the highest culture the world affords, included 5% of the population; and large urban groups of artisans, shopkeepers, skilled laborers and mechanics with a grammar school education formed a sizeable middle class. The peasants, usually called illiterate, had nevertheless rudiments of an education acquired through constant contacts with the urban groups in markets and household service, as well as in the struggling country schools. Probably 10% of the peasants and 40% of the urban population was literate at the time of the Intervention.

The Occupation denounced the educated classes as venal politicians, too ignorant and incompetent to manage their own government, and proceeded to starve out all cultural education above the primary grades and then appropriate vast sums from their seized treasury to set up a system designed to turn them into a nation of laborers for foreign profits.

Haitian school teachers were allowed but from \$4 to \$6 a month for public education while American "experts" in the Service Technique, established and controlled by the Occupation, were paid from \$350 a month up to teach Haitian students how to manage large plantations. These teachers rarely spoke the language of their students. Large appropriations from the Haitian treasury were also expended on extra buildings for this service and on ridiculous experiments, instead of sending teachers out to train the peasant farmers to improve their methods and diversify their crops. "It was like erecting the roof before laying the foundations," said Maitre Leger, in denouncing this service to the Commission.

Since the return of the Commission the head of this service has been recalled and its dissolution is under way.

Racial antagonism has permeated every phase of the Occupation since its earliest days. Jim-Crowing

of the Haitians in their own country has been a definite policy, and it was especially directed at the Elite. "Haitians may be divided into two classes, those who wear shoes and those who don't. I regarded those who wore shoes as a joke," said Gen. Smedley Butler in 1921. "The Haitian nation has the mentality of a seven-year-old child," said Gen. Russell in an official report.

While French, German and English residents have maintained social relations with cultured Haitians, Americans, with a few honorable exceptions, have unitedly scorned all social contacts except necessary official courtesies. Learned Haitian jurists of world wide reputation, writers, artists, musicians, scholars, some of them wearing high foreign decorations for their contributions to world culture, have all been lumped with the most ignorant classes as "niggers," unworthy of consideration.

No criticism of the Occupation was permitted, under a cruel enforcement of martial law, and all Haitian social clubs were closed "because their members talked politics." No Haitian, not even the President himself, could be invited to American clubs, although Haitian property, seized for Occupation purposes, was used for golf, polo and sporting events by Americans. Even the horses belonging to the Haitian Garde, supported by the Haitian people, were available to American families for pleasure purposes.

Humiliated and tormented in their own land and officially ridiculed before the world, Haitians told the Commission they would rather commit national suicide before American machine guns than longer submit to the domination and subjugation of their country and race.

THE failure and shame of those who have conducted the Occupation is summed up rather gently but conclusively in the Commission's conclusions:

"Racial antipathies lie behind many of the difficulties which the United States civil and military forces have met in Haiti. The failure of the Occupation to understand the social problems of Haiti, its brusque attempts to plant democracy there by drill and harrow . . . explain in part why our high hopes of good work in this land have not been realized.

"The acts and attitudes of the Treaty Officials gave the Commission the impression that they had been based on the assumption that the Occupation would remain indefinitely. In other words, their plans and projects did not seem to take into account that their work should be completed by 1936, and the Commission was disappointed to find that the preparation for the political and administrative training of Haitians for the responsibilities of government had been inadequate."

Haitians add that never in her stormiest days had such military force, political immorality and civil oppression been practised; that the Americans, who forced their entry into Haiti "to teach her stable and

orderly constitutional government, and an economic development which would lead her to prosperous independence," had taught her little but the methods for imposing governmental oppression and economic spoliation.

In its last analysis the Commission's report calls for an end of domination, reestablishment of a free, constitutional government, restoration of the ordinary international relations that prevail between independent countries, and the writing of new treaty agreements—made without compulsion—which will honestly serve the legitimate interests of both Haiti and the United States.

If these plans are faithfully carried out then a new era has truly begun. Latin America is watching closely. Failure now would not only create a national holocaust in Haiti but would imperil all our Pan American relations for generations to come.

Dewdrop and Sea

ONE may not fathom all reality
Within a thimble; yet the light which gleams
Out of one dewdrop is the same that streams
In flooding splendor over land and sea.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ



From a drawing by Albert Daenens

Solstice

A Program for Unemployment

NORMAN THOMAS

IN a request that is almost a command the editors ask me to tell "What I Would Do about Unemployment." Now the editors, on reflection, will surely agree with me that no one man is or ought to be in America so great a dictator that he alone can prescribe and enforce remedies for the dread disease of unemployment. My answer, therefore, will be in terms of what I, in common with Socialists generally, think should and could be done. The answer will not be complete for I shall not discuss what private relief agencies are doing or whether they should do more, or what employers or even what trade unions are doing and the adequacy or inadequacy of their measures. I shall confine myself to what I may call a public program for dealing with unemployment.

Before we come to a specific program we must look at the background of facts.

And the first fact is that we don't know the essential fact: the extent of unemployment. Governor Roosevelt of New York says that he has reports from different New York State communities varying in their estimates of idle workers from 75 to 5 per cent with the majority estimating 10 to 15 per cent. Figures of factory employment in New York State show a 9 per cent drop since October. This can be taken as at least no worse than the average in industrial states.

It must be remembered, however, that not all workers were employed by any means prior to the Wall Street crash in October. In the best times there is a standing army of the unemployed usually estimated as at least 1,000,000 strong. In the coal fields unemployment or intermittent employment has become chronic. Building was falling off badly in many localities before the Wall Street crash, not because of it but partly because the gambling mania attracted available money into brokers' loans at very high interest, to the hurt of building, especially of homes.

BUT while we don't know the number of unemployed in the winter of 1929-'30 it is generally estimated at between four and six million workers. To its tragic extent applications which swamp charity societies, bread lines in all our cities, and the despairing queries outside employment exchanges give melancholy proof. We are living through a disaster more extensive, more depressing in its effects than fire, flood and earthquake. But how different has been our reaction! In the latter case how much more prompt and efficient would have been our relief!

The truth is that governmental agencies have done little or nothing and that newspapers, with few exceptions, and other agencies of public opinion, consciously or subconsciously, tried to maintain a conspiracy of silence as if not to talk about unemployment were to cure it. From this, demonstrations organized by the Communists helped to awaken us, but immediately the tendency, partly as a result of Communist tactics, was to shift public interest not to the menace of unemployment but to an unreal red peril. It was not until March 25th that Mayor Walker in New York finally got around to discuss a practical program for that great city, and then mostly in terms of a claim that the city was doing all it could anyhow, to which he and his administration gave the lie by tardily and inadequately undertaking certain measures of relief which Socialists and others had been urging for months or even years. It was not until March 31st that Governor Roosevelt of New York announced the appointment of a commission to bring in a program for the future and made some recommendations utterly ignoring unemployment insurance. Few mayors or governors have been better and many worse.

Meanwhile, on that same date, the Senate Committee in Washington was still holding hearings on Senator Wagner's bills which do lay the basis of a partial program for the future. For the present situation the federal government's chief contribution was President Hoover's prompt effort to push a building program by concerted action of governmental bodies and private corporations—good as far as it went but obviously belated for the present emergency and in need of more scientific organization for the future.

DURING the campaign of 1928 Mr. Hoover had a good deal to say about "rugged individualism." About the only rugged individuals left are the workers, and they have to be rugged to survive. Financial interests have from the government the fairly satisfactory aid of the Federal Reserve system. Producing interests of various sorts are getting a new tariff by the old log rolling process—and what a tariff! The farmers have the Federal Farm Board and its revolving \$500,000,000 fund, the usefulness of which is still to be proved. The well-to-do and the rich received an utterly indefensible tax cut of 1

per cent which should have been kept to finance various relief plans. But the rugged poor can be turned out of work as a man turns out a light. Henry Ford can discharge 30,000 at a clip as he could not discharge 30,000 mules. Mules would kick and mules can't graze on city streets.

In this respect the wage system is even more heartless than chattel slavery. The owner of slaves could scarcely afford to let them starve when he had no work for them. But our industrialists expect to hire and fire at need with precious little corporate responsibility. Individuals may do their best. That isn't much, given our system.

Indeed unemployment is a major indictment of our system. Lack of coordination, chaotic competition, the whim of fashion, give us seasonal unemployment. The same things plus the zeal for profit *über alles* give us technological unemployment; that is, the condition in which the under dog always pays for our mechanical progress. Precisely the same things plus the inevitable failure of the profit system to give back to the workers what they produce or its equivalent give us cyclical unemployment; that is, a condition of periodic glut or overproduction. Such overproduction may be real enough in some particular lines but in sum total what we suffer from is underconsumption, a situation under which periodically, for example, the children of shoe workers must go badly shod!

Since this is true it follows that the cure of unemployment is impossible under an uncoordinated system of production for private profit rather than for general use. It does not follow, therefore, that all remedies are, as the Communists told Mayor Walker futile, save as their agitation for them educates the workers to the need of revolutionary change. Relief in itself is good, not only for humanitarian reasons but because broken men and their hungry children do not make the best material for the cooperative common-

wealth. Moreover when the workers get certain intelligent immediate measures of unemployment relief they will have advanced thereby in the recognition of social responsibility and a planned economic order. The experience of Russia with its unemployed shows that in a transition society even under the most militant Communist leadership unemployment does not disappear by formula or fiat. Indeed, as the Russian peasants become intelligent in the use of machinery Russia will have to face an increasing problem of technological unemployment. Hence the folly of calling unemployment relief a mere sop to save the capitalist system.

WE are ready now to state our immediate practical program.

1. First we must have accurate figures kept up-to-date on employment and unemployment. This is primarily a federal job and Senator Wagner of New York has introduced a good bill on the subject.

2. We must have a coordinated system of public employment exchanges, federal, state and municipal.

Our failure to have such a system is inexcusable. The only reasons against it are public apathy, the profit for newspapers in want ads and the opposition of private agencies, few of which are honest and fewer still efficient, save in certain specialized lines. Employment agencies don't make jobs; they should reveal them without robbing the poor, as many of the private agencies do by deliberately arranging for a big labor turnover. Thus, one great agency in a Western city is said to keep three gangs on the road—one hired to work, one working, one fired from work. The agency and the straw bosses split the fees.

3. In connection with employment agencies there should be some provision for simple reeducation of workers to new jobs. For instance, men who have been coal miners all their working lives and who now find themselves in an

Job Seeker

His thought swayed as the slow train swayed.
Now was the end. He to go on,
She to go back. Though they had weighed
For weeks this moment, it was grown
Too heavy on them at the last.

She had been gay those years before.
Now it was time to get her coat.
He hadn't thought they would come so poor.
He ought to say . . . it was rough in his throat. . . .

And there the junction loomed. How fast
The grim train grated to a stop!
His knuckled hands were white from trying
Not to hold hard to hers. A drop
Of jewelled salt lay on his coarse
Big face. He wished for her she were crying.

"If work is good you'll come in the spring.
Just tell the kids, well . . . some good thing,
And, well, goodbye . . ." He was too hoarse
To say more, were he better at saying.
Behind her, casual bold eyes hung
Like a tawdry peacock screen. No tongue
Was his for tenderness, to tell
All that his heavy arms were praying.

So, "Well . . . goodbye," he said—thin, high—
And looked bewildered. "Well . . . goodbye. . . .
Well. . . ."

DEVERE ALLEN

(Reprinted by permission from The New Republic.)

industry 100 per cent overmanned are entitled to some instruction on other jobs as well as some help in finding them. An intelligently planned system of employment agencies will care for this situation.

4. One of the most important remedies for unemployment is to push public works, planned on a long range program, with special speed in dull times. Such methods not only take up the slack by employing builders but they make a demand for material and generally put money in circulation. It is important, however, that the method should be scientific and the work so well planned that it can be begun at the first sign of dull times. Messrs. Foster and Catchings are the authors of a well known and elaborate scheme to this end. Senator Wagner has introduced a bill based on the scheme. Primarily the federal government must take the lead but state and municipal governments should follow that lead. Socialists generally agree with the substance of the Foster-Catchings plan and some, though by no means all, of their discussion of the "dilemma of thrift" which leads up to their plan. We do not agree with the sufficiency of public works as a cure for unemployment. It will do little or nothing for seasonal or technological unemployment and must be supplemented by wider and more far-reaching measures.

5. Unemployment insurance as part of a general scheme of social insurance against old age and sickness is imperative. It should be national in scope and only as a second choice state wide. States will always be afraid of a decent system lest it drive business out of the state to one which demands less of the employers. Such a system should be contributory with the heavier burden of contributions falling on industry and society generally rather than on the workers. Not only will such social insurance be an act of elementary justice to those who cannot find work; it will also greatly stimulate employers even now to get together to eliminate seasonal unemployment and so save premiums. Even the textile industry might find means to heed the moral exhortations of its own leaders and cut out night work, so spreading employment over the year and standardizing conditions. Social insurance will also help in the shift of men to other jobs when the machine displaces them. Finally it will give workers a sense of security which will powerfully stimulate them to organize by removing the present fear lest they lose the little protection—all they now have—in the boss's welfare plans and in his little dole of group insurance.

6. Last of all and, perhaps most important of all, comes the shortening of the working week especially to meet technological unemployment. It is well enough, and maybe true enough, to say that in the long run machines make more jobs than they destroy.

But we live and eat in short runs. The displacement of workers on farms and in factories has been a serious evil even in prosperous times. The demand of the machine for youth, the fear of the bosses that older workers will sooner be candidates for the pensions or insurance they boast they have provided, and the still uncured evil of the competition of children make the dead line at 45 more and more a menace to millions of workers. The business of having children work when their fathers cannot find jobs can and should be ended once and for all. It is an anachronistic survival of a barbaric age.

OBVIOUSLY the intelligent thing to do with better machinery is to divide work and increase leisure—just as a group of friends would do if on a camping trip they found new tools. Instead the owners of the machine—usually absentees who don't know one end of it from the other—make enhanced profits, some workers work almost as long and often more intensively under a speed up system while the others know the hardest work of all: the vain search for a job.

Hence the importance of the movement for a shorter week. It cannot suddenly be decreed by act of Congress or the state legislatures. Governmental agencies to some extent can set an example with their own employees; perhaps as an emergency measure a forty hour law in industrial states might stand the test of the courts. But in general the shorter week must depend upon supplementing what the state can do by the power of organized labor and, it is to be hoped, by the enlightened action of unusual employers.

Such are the principal divisions of a practical program on unemployment. The present emergency also requires outright relief for which the resources of charity societies are inadequate. Therefore these general and basic principles for dealing with unemployment should be supplemented by such concrete programs including outright relief as the Socialist Party and the Emergency Conference on Unemployment have recently proposed in some detail in New York City and State.

Basically, however, in the application of our six point program for unemployment, the federal government should take the lead, for we are dealing not with a local but a national, even an international catastrophe. Yet that catastrophe will not have been wholly in vain if a generation mad with the gambling mania and hypnotized by a distorted picture of prosperity will wake to the needless shame of such poverty and insecurity in a country where the "billion wild horses" of a mechanical power need only to be broken to our use instead of the service of profit, in order to banish such tragedy forever.

Not in the Headlines

Is Chicago to Blame?

According to a report issued by the Bureau of Internal Revenue in Washington, there has been a threefold increase in the sale of firearms including pistols and revolvers during the past year.

Mormonism

Mormonism celebrated its centennial on April 6, 1930. According to the most recent figures, the membership of the combined branches of the Church of Latter-day Saints now numbers about a million.

Great Britain's Jobless

During one week in March, according to official figures issued by Labourite statisticians, the total number of unemployed in Great Britain was 1,621,800. This represents a greater peak of unemployment than at any time since 1921.

University Negro Week

March 24th to 28th was celebrated as "Negro Week" at New York University. Under the auspices of the Cosmopolitan Club, a Negro play was presented by the dramatic society, a forum was held in which problems pertaining to the Negro were discussed, and outstanding Negro speakers addressed various of the university classes.

How Honduras Stamps Letters

Honduras does not stamp envelopes, as the United States did until recently, with cancellations reading "Military Training Camps—Let's Go." In the midst of a temperance campaign, the government stamps on the following: "Drunkards often become thieves, murderers and incendiaries; drunkenness leads rapidly to the cemetery or, what is worse, to prison or the insane asylum."

"Love Thine Enemies—"

J. Hartley Manners, British playwright, bequeathed to English actors a fund of \$500 a year for six years, on condition that they produce one of his war plays—*All Clear* or *God of My Fathers*—annually for six years at the Drury Lane Theatre in London. The will declared that Mr. Manners' purpose in making this request was to perpetuate the remembrance of atrocities committed by the Germans on the English people during the World War. The General Theatrical Fund, however, refused to produce the anti-German war plays and has consequently forfeited the money.

Old Horses and Old Drivers

The bulletin of the Association for Old Age Security for February, 1930, describes the humane efforts of interested people to provide comforts for "Frankie," an old horse which for many years pulled the delivery wagons of the New York *Sun*. Frankie is pastured out for the rest of his life, under the care of kind and watchful hands. On the same date, however, the Association received a letter from the wife of a driver of a horse belonging to a company he had served for forty-six years. Williams, the driver, now aged sixty-five and incapacitated for city driving, was laid off without pension, pay, or appreciation.

Indians Strike

Half a million workers in India went on strike in 1929 and lost an average of 26 working days in some 140 industrial disputes.

No Diluted War Memorials

A war memorial recently erected at Svojeticz, Czechoslovakia, was inscribed "Remember what the World War meant and think what a future world war would mean." The government, according to the New York *Times*, ordered the inscription removed because it was "too defeatist."

Wanted: A National Budget

In 1928 America spent \$12,000,000,000 for passenger automobiles, and for luxuries such as candy, ice cream, theaters, and tobacco, \$7,000,000,000. Cosmetics cost the country \$300,000,000, and hair tonic \$9,000,000. The total expenditure for public school education during the same year was \$2,500,000,000.

Hebrew University Anniversary

As a part of the celebration of its fifth anniversary, the Hebrew University in Palestine dedicated its new library on April 14, 1930. The library which is used by Moslems, Christians, and Jews has a collection of more than 217,000 volumes including the only medical library of note in the entire region. Branch medical libraries have been established by the University in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv for the benefit of the Physicians Association.

The Old Order Changeth—

St. Nicholas, one of the oldest publications for young people in this country, founded in 1873, has been sold by the Century Company which formerly published it to the Scholastic Publishing Company of Pittsburgh. During its early days *St. Nicholas* published the work of many writers whose names are now world famous—Rudyard Kipling, Alfred Lord Tennyson, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Robert Louis Stevenson, Joel Chandler Harris, Bret Harte, Louisa May Alcott, Mark Twain, and Kate Douglas Wiggin.

Divorce Here and Abroad

Japan is the only country where the divorce rate is going down. Summarizing, except where noted, figures for the year 1926—the latest available for international comparison—the following table shows the number of divorces for every 100,000 inhabitants:

Ukraine	(1925)	175.2
Russia in Europe	(1925)	164.4
United States	(1925)	152.1
Austria	(1925)	84.5
Japan	(1925)	82.8
Hungary		69.6
Switzerland		55.9
Germany		54.3
France		40.1
Belgium		29.9
Holland		29.8
Sweden		29.4
Great Britain		6.7

Great-Grandson of the Revolution

*The Story of John Nevin Sayre**

ONE destined to carry the pacifist banner, especially through troubled waters, is fortunate to have behind him a host of ancestors who never took life lying down but as a great adventure. The hysterical patriot is at all times color-blind, particularly so in time of stress, when everything appears red to his distorted vision except the battlefields stained with human blood. The men of the Nevin and Sayre families were stout fighters for their faith. Though not all thought alike, all fought alike; when they rallied to their respective colors they stayed for the finish, and at the front. The Sayre coat of arms has for its crest a dragon head crushed by a strong hand. The voluminous genealogy shows them a prolific family that produced a strong hand in each succeeding generation with which to squeeze a dragon head. They intermarried with other eminent families, were prominent in church and state as well as in the arts, and generally speaking, led rather than brought up the rear of the procession. Ethelbert Nevin, the musical composer belonged to the clan, and Blanche Nevin, poet and sculptor has a statue in the national Capitol at Washington. They have left not only footprints on the sands of time, but name plates in divers places—Nevin on the coast of Wales and Sayre in the State of Pennsylvania.

The founder of the Sayre family, Thomas by name, left Leighton Buzzard in England for the new settlement at Lynn, Massachusetts, in the year 1638, and Sayres have kept on coming with unfailing regularity ever since, until the posterity of the original Thomas is spread far and wide over the country.

In the turbulent Revolutionary period the Reverend John Sayre, great-great-grandfather of the subject of this sketch, was rector of a church in Fairfield, Connecticut, a man who took his religion seriously. The Revolutionary committee circularized the townsmen demanding a subscription to what was then the equivalent of our Liberty Bonds, and exacting a pledge to deny "the kind offices of humanity and hospitality" to any who were unfriendly to the cause. The reverend gentleman replied at some length and without equivocation. He loved the colonial land, but his fundamental loyalty was to his divine Master. As a Christian he could neither aid in war nor turn from his door any stranger or traveller who sought his hospitality. War and politics, he said, "belong not to my profession, and I find sufficient employment for

my head and for my heart in that honorable though arduous calling to which . . . I have vowed to devote my whole life." War and Christianity have always been at variance, and the patriots ordered the good man to move on. Finally with his family he trekked to Nova Scotia. But time brings its revenges; not long since Nevin Sayre was invited to preach at the second centennial of the church from which his great-great-grandfather had been ousted!

At the same time another Sayre was making himself offensive to patriots on the other side of the water. Though high sheriff of London, he was outspoken in his sympathies for the American colonists in their resistance to governmental tyranny. Accordingly, he was sentenced as a traitor and escorted to the Tower. Later, when released, he assisted the cause he believed to be a righteous one by deed as well as word, and did some good work for the American commissioners in Europe.

BUT that is not the whole story of John Nevin Sayre's Revolutionary ancestry. A great-great-grandfather on the Nevin side was Dominie Carmichael, Scotch by race and temperament, grand-nephew of the Duke of Argyle. Though he was a parson, it was not the Dominie's idea to keep out of a good fight by hiding behind his cloth. Moved by a letter from General Washington telling of the awful sufferings of the men at Valley Forge, he lost no time in firing his flock with his own spirit. The closets of his parishioners were ransacked and every garment that could be spared, every scrap of linen was gathered, till at last the women protested they had nothing left but their petticoats. "Shorten your petticoats," he thundered. If hair could have been used at Valley Forge, he would have preached to a flock of bobbed-haired women. The American army had left only the Dominie's horse for use in the community; and when that solitary animal was not employed in visiting the sick and burying the dead, it was loaded with the parish loot and the parson galloped off at midnight to Valley Forge, straight through the British lines, unconcerned that

"The British had put a price on his head, Capture him living, capture him dead."

Finally word came that a British force was on its way to take him. With a cool head and Scotch thrift he gathered his family, his silver, and a precious store of salt, and slipped off to the forest, where the red men concealed and sheltered him.

*One of a series of sketches of pathfinders to a new society, published anonymously to permit greater frankness. Reproduction limited to 300 words.

Robert Heysham Sayre, great-grandson of the exiled Connecticut preacher, and father of Nevin Sayre, built the Lehigh Valley Railroad, of which he was chief engineer. The town of Sayre, Pennsylvania, takes its name from him. He was vice-president of the Lehigh Valley and of the Bethlehem Iron Company, which blossomed into the Steel Trust. His connection with these enterprises, and his investments during the period of our extraordinary industrial expansion, have placed his succeeding generation beyond the grasp of the gaunt hand of poverty.

The old gentleman, however, was no swivel-chair official; he worked side by side with his men and knew them. Wakened in the middle of the night by news of trouble somewhere down the line of the road he had built, he would leap from his bed, dash for an engine, and hustle to the scene in order personally to direct the work.

He was a typical gentleman of the time, able, cultivated, conservative, a trustee of the Episcopal Church of the Nativity, in Bethlehem, a staunch Republican from the time Lincoln ran for the presidency, a fervent patriot. Every year on the Fourth of July he invited the community to join him in commemorating the great national event in the manner prescribed by John Adams as appropriate to its celebration throughout the ages. When Dewey defeated the Spaniards in Manila Bay and sank six ships, Mr. Sayre ran up six small flags in addition to the usual large one.

His son, John Nevin, was born at Bethlehem in 1884, heir to all those things that make for a good and pleasant life. He was sent first to the Moravian School, later to Lawrenceville Preparatory School, and finally to Princeton. Scotland had contributed money generously toward establishing a college at Princeton, and great-great-grandfather Dominie Carmichael had been one of its early graduates.

AS a student, Nevin Sayre was neither a long-faced Christian nor a "pale-faced" pacifist—not any pacifist at all—but a genial, athletic youth, who entered heartily into the diversions of young men of his class and means. He was a good dancer, and served on the college dance committee; he was the champion club swinger of the University, and an enthusiastic horseman. During his college days and later in the Wild West and in Mexico he was as hard a rider as the old Revolutionary Dominie.

After graduation, he put in a year at Williams College, where he became leader of the Young Men's Christian Association. For a time education seemed likely to be his chosen field of labor. Always of a deeply religious temperament, he finally decided to enter the ministry, a calling in which so many of his forbears had been distinguished. He entered Union Theological Seminary in New York, and went on

from there to the Episcopal Theological Seminary at Cambridge, Massachusetts. He was ordained to the Episcopal ministry in 1911. During the following year he taught Old Testament History at Princeton.

His interests have never been parochial and, yielding to the urge for a more active life and wider fields of usefulness, he entered the mission field in China, under Bishop Roots. The climate, however, proved a serious menace to his health, and it seemed wise to give up the work and return home. Crossing through Siberia and Russia proper, he finally reached Germany where he broke the journey by a year of study at the University of Marburg.

He made a flying trip to America to officiate at the White House wedding of his brother, Francis Bowes Sayre, to Jessie Wilson, daughter of the President. It was a happy reunion for him, for his brother's best man was Sir Wilfred Grenfell with whom Nevin Sayre had spent two summers in Labrador, assisting in Grenfell's work, an important feature of which was the battle against tuberculosis. Chugging up and down the coast in the doctor's motor boat, he spent his holidays preaching what he called "Don't-spit sermons."

After the wedding he hastened back to complete his course at Marburg. It was there that he first became acquainted with Norman Angell's anti-war literature which deeply interested him and set in motion a train of thought that was to carry him far. His studies at the University ended, he set off to explore Palestine. The day he reached Damascus he got news of trouble brewing between Mexico and the United States. Norman Angell had focused his mind on the economic absurdity of war. If, however, his country became entangled, he debated with his conscience whether, as a young man unencumbered by immediate family ties, it was not his duty to shoulder arms in its service. He hurried home, fortunately to find the war scare over, and took up the more peaceful and pleasant occupation of teaching again at Princeton.

THEN came the great catastrophe which overwhelmed the world in 1914. War had gradually become less and less respectable to people of thoughtful minds. Empty minds, glad of any relief from the boredom of existence, simple minds, stirred by brass buttons and brass bands, jingo minds that go off at the touch of the trigger, all respond to the romantic appeal of the skilful war propagandist, and these in 1914 descended on the world like locusts. Talcott Williams came down to Princeton to lecture and rivalled the kaiser in providing a religious cloak for the War. Jesus, it appeared, was no pacifist, though in his early ministry he seemed inclined that way. He was a realist, and as he grew

older and wiser, he advised his disciples to exchange their cloaks for swords.

Since the Marburg days when Norman Angell had convinced him of the economic imbecility of war, Nevin Sayre had given much thought to other angles of the subject, and after listening to Williams' lecture he decided to come to grips with it. He sat down one day determined not to rise till he had taken a definite stand as a professing Christian toward mass violence. He went through the New Testament diligently and rose from his search a convinced and uncompromising pacifist. Although at the time he was unfamiliar with the history of the old John Sayre of Revolutionary times, he came by the same reasoning to precisely the stand taken by his ancestor.

He left Princeton to become rector of a church in Suffern, New York, and during his four years' pastorate there America entered the War. He continued to preach pacifism unflinchingly, and without alienating his flock, from which there were only half a dozen withdrawals. Many of the clergy in that strenuous time ceased to preach a Christianity which was unpopular, and joined in the hymn of hate. Nevin Sayre bore testimony to the faith that was in him without rancor, as becomes a good Christian. He expressed a willingness to resign if the congregation so desired. Though many of them disagreed with his pacifist creed, they respected his courage and sincerity, they too behaving as becomes good Christians. By the time men of his class were called to the colors, his resolve was made to waive exemption as a clergyman and refuse service as a conscientious objector to war. The armistice was declared before this conflict with government became necessary.

A handful of English Christians to whom war was utterly abhorrent and who deplored the poisonous hate engendered by vicious propaganda, banded together to form a Fellowship of Reconciliation. Nevin Sayre joined the American branch of that International Fellowship. For the first time in all his wanderings over the face of the earth he found, in the activities of the Fellowship, work which completely absorbed him and into which he could throw himself without reserve. He had first-hand knowledge of the plodding masses in Labrador, Asia, Europe, in his own country. His conscience was highly socialized, his loyalty to the teaching of Jesus profound. With Jane Addams, he believed that "the things that make men alike are stronger and more primitive than the things that separate them." The brotherhood of man could not be reconciled with the practice of war. The time had come, he felt, to talk of many things which needed change in this ever-changing world. First and foremost on his list of things to be changed was the general belief in the inevitability of war.

NEVIN SAYRE was born with a silver spoon in his mouth, a circumstance which has always pricked his sensitive conscience, although many worthy persons and unpopular causes have been fed from it. He disapproves of the social order which started him in life with that useful article of table furniture in his mouth, while innumerable others started with their little noses to the grindstone of sordid poverty. That system which is unsocial and un-Christian comes second on his list of desirable changes.

As education seemed the most effective weapon with which to effect these changes, he resigned his pastorate to assist in founding the Brookwood School, and became a member of the teaching staff. Kellogg Pacts and naval reduction conferences, he believes, are of service in putting peace on the front page, but these agreements will continue to be mere scraps of paper while the history taught in the schools is little more than a glorification of war. A silk purse is not made of a sow's ear, nor genuine peace lovers by that sort of education.

A strange result of the war to end war was the



From an etching by Bernard Sanders

John Nevin Sayre

intensification in America of the European system of compulsory military education. Schools and colleges throughout the land have been subsidized by the War Department, and many ingenious methods have been used to sell the idea to reluctant American students. Army and Navy groups, the American Legion, and patriotic societies gave it vigorous support. All friends of peace fought it just as vigorously, none more than Nevin Sayre.

AS a speaker, he is always in demand. He talks with sound sense, even though he does mix up the genial, informal speech of a true democrat with a hang-over of broad a's—horribly broad a's—which break through unconsciously as reminders of the silver-spoon origin or his formal homiletics.

When the American Civil Liberties Union was begun to campaign for the rights of the oppressed guaranteed them by the Constitution, he was on the job as usual, and "in on it," taking an active part in all its efforts to see that justice is done to men and women everywhere, no matter what their honest views.

Upon Norman Thomas's retirement from the editorship of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* in 1921, Nevin Sayre, not without some reluctance, took over the job, brought in new blood to share his editorial labors, and started a task which he laid down some two years later because he found the routine of writing—though he writes with force and has a good swinging style—wearing and less to his taste than functioning through committees and groups on specific projects. Although he has steadfastly continued his work as Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, he has also found time to organize the Committee on Militarism in Education, for which he was cited in 1929 on the annual honor roll of *The Nation*.

SINCE he has found a full-time job in the crusade for economic justice and the abolition of war, Mr. Sayre has again become a world trotter. In 1920-21 he was one of an international quartet—American, English, French and Dutch—who toured war-desolated Germany, spreading the gospel of reconstruction through love and justice. In 1928, with a group of Quakers, he engineered a good-will mission to Nicaragua. This mission made many contacts in southern republics and resulted in the establishment of a Fellowship secretariat in Central America. He has covered all of Europe in his numerous trips abroad.

A few years ago Nevin Sayre was married to Kathleen Whitaker, a member of the English Fellowship and a Quaker relief worker, as devoted to the cause as himself, and, if justice were done, worthy of a biographical sketch quite on her own account.

They have a pleasant home close to the Palisades of the Hudson. The young Sayres have not yet learned that their daddy is a fighter for peace on duty, and they disapprove of his frequent absences. His little daughter, Faith, took the matter to the Lord in prayer. "Please God," was her evening petition, "bring Daddy safe home, and please let him be kept here in this house."

GLANCING into the laughing brown eyes of this quiet, cultivated, bookish-looking man, it is difficult to find anything remotely resembling the pictures of radicals painted by inventive or fearsome stand-patters. It is refreshing to note how often he laughs—he is one of those persons who seem to enjoy laughing and therefore can't help it. He has a good collection of jokes which, in moments of relaxation, he uncorks, though it pains me to write that often these are very, very stale.

Bookish he may look; but he is essentially a motor type of person. He must be on the move. He does some of his best thinking, as many people do, when strolling aimlessly about in a small room, circling within a radius of five feet, while hunching his shoulders, putting his hands into his trousers pockets, and turning a corner of thought each time he escapes running into some piece of furniture. Fond of movement, impatient as all good radicals ought to be, he sometimes becomes almost as driving as your professional go-getter; he likes his own way rather well, and as a matter of fact when very young he once sought to obtain it by dashing a plate of food violently on the dining-room floor. But withal, he is warm and generous in spirit, and when he drives, it is always because he visions some goal the attainment of which is of vital social import. He is not the only radical leader who wishes in his heart that he were six men, so tremendous is the need, instead of one and a half.

Genuine pacifists like Nevin Sayre are still comparatively few, though their numbers are markedly on the increase. They fight in the open, their only weapons fair means, persuasion, and non-violent insistence. Surely those who believe in convincing their erring fellowmen by killing them have nothing to fear from such antagonists. No, they fear the force of an idea which may change this best of all possible worlds, for an idea has always been stronger than armies or navies. Hear the words of Thomas Paine, one of our great founding fathers, a man of mighty faith, who passionately hated war, and believed it would be eliminated from the future history of mankind: "An idea will go where armies cannot penetrate. It will march on the horizon of the world, and it will conquer."

Clippings

Patriotism Plus

Patriotism is not enough. There is an understanding of the linking up of humanity today. The unity of the human family is being recognized as never before.—*Gen. Jan Christiaan Smuts in an address before the New York Bar Association.*

Moral and Simple

Peaceful settlement of conflicts is not only more moral but also simpler and less costly. For these reasons I believe that war during the next decade, and for succeeding decades, is improbable.—*Eduard Benes, in The Survey Graphic, March 1, 1930.*

Let the Unknown Be Unknown

I would remove every war monument, obliterate every tablet containing the names of the "heroes" who died "that we may be free" (what silly hypocrisy!), and I would let the graves of the Unknown Soldiers become unknown, indeed.—*John Haynes Holmes, quoted in Critic and Guide, September 1929.*

Moving Up

A man may be a kind neighbor, a just and public-spirited citizen, an admirable parent, and still have a haunting sense that no matter what rare excellence any persons or the whole world may reach, there is an infinite goodness forever outrunning all attainment, and at the same time calling upon man to move up in its direction.—*Henry Neumann, in The Standard, February, 1930.*

Sic Semper Fascism

After the publication in the November Harper's Magazine of the articles by Marcus Duffield on Mussolini's American Empire, Secretary of State Stimson made an investigation and announced that the Fascist League of North America had been dissolved—voluntarily. That settled the question in some minds, but "Il Grido della Stirpe," an Italian paper published in New York, said: "American Fascism is more alive than ever . . . Fascism will be stronger, better armed, more effective and if necessary more violent in all parts of America . . . Fascism will be ready to defend itself and attack others with words, the press and fists."—*The Arbitrator, February, 1930.*

The Dole

It is a benefit arising from an insurance scheme. The workers, when they are employed, pay weekly contributions to the scheme. Similar amounts are paid by the employers and the state and it is from the fund so created that the unemployed benefits are distributed. Under the scheme the worker when employed puts part of his wage aside to provide against the danger of unemployment; the employer contributes in order that his employes may maintain their physical fitness during unemployment until he requires their services again; and the state contributes in order to prevent the unemployed from becoming a complete public charge upon the poor law funds. *Fenner Brockway, in Old Age Security Herald, February, 1930.*

Passionate

I notice that the new biography of George Harvey, called "A Passionate Portrait," is to contain an introduction by Calvin Coolidge. How passionate that preface will be!—*Burris Jenkins, in The Christian, January 30, 1930.*

Europe on the Up-Grade

Despite all the difficulties, the idea of peace and the efforts toward consolidation are winning ground in Central Europe. In spite of all difficulties, the political, legal and moral pacification of Europe—of the whole world—is progressing steadily. The great wounds are healing and good-will is increasing everywhere.—*Eduard Benes, in The Survey Graphic, March 1, 1930.*

The Exploiters Also

The great fault of our American and of our Eastern civilization in general is not materialism; we do not worship wealth, we worship efficiency in the production of wealth, and we make so much of the product that we sacrifice the producer. Not only the exploited children are sacrificed; the exploiters also sacrifice themselves, make themselves servants to their work, and miss the balance of genuine personalities.—*Felix Adler, in The Standard, February, 1930.*

Whoever Heard?

Whoever heard of a meeting of college alumni to improve the library facilities? Whoever heard of a conference of alumni on the research problems of a university? Whoever heard of a meeting of alumni that confined its discussions largely to the promotion of the moral and ethical and spiritual welfare of the student body? Whoever heard of a meeting of alumni whose primary purpose was that of improving scholarship within the institution? And yet these are the things that constitute the sole excuse for a college or a university.—*President L. D. Coffman, University of Minnesota Weekly, May 18, 1929.*

Is the Church to Keep Away?

From what industrial affairs should the Church hold its hand? From the discussion of technical plans for assembly plants? From discussions of engineering and financial problems which belong to the economist and the engineer? I agree. If a given industry works little children long hours in unsanitary sheds—is the Church to keep away? . . . If the power industry spends millions on a Washington lobby in the effort to persuade the nation to mortgage the wealth which belongs to no one generation—is the Church to turn away and say it is no affair of ours? If the shipbuilders spend other thousands to defeat disarmament moves—is the Church to keep silence? If certain textile companies turn machine guns on men and women because they dare to protest against conditions in their mills—is the Church to confine itself to speaking in general principles about justice and mercy and peace?—*Hubert C. Herring, in The Congregationalist, February, 1930.*

Living Well and Spending Fairly

SAMUEL CORNELIUS

KEEPING price in mind as one element, the intelligent consumer searches continually for superior quality and service in the goods he buys or the products he uses. Close observation of goods he has bought, or which his friends are using, helps him to understand what to look for when new purchases are to be made. He may in addition do special reading for information on what to use and how to buy it.

The best aid he can get is from "Scientific Buying."¹ This little non-commercial guide recommends specifically the most economical standard brands of goods, the quality of which is high but without unnecessary frills. It gives the ordinary man much the same service as a great corporation gets from its purchasing department's tests and studies. It warns against misleading advertising.

Becoming wary of sellers' claims, of advertisements, and of the silly recommendations of some acquaintances, the consumer finds his confidence increasing. He actively resents impositions by tricky merchants, refuses most substitutes, and rewards better merchants with loyal patronage.

The consumer soon recognizes the importance of the conditions under which his supplies are produced and distributed. He supports Board of Health measures in his city, town, or community, and when possible he visits the kitchens and the factories which supply him. Besides demanding cleanliness, he is careful to use products manufactured by concerns that maintain fair conditions for their employees. The Union Label on certain articles indicates that at least part of their production is under labor union rules as to wages, hours of labor, and favorable working conditions. The Candy White List, issued by the National Consumers' League is an excellent guide in the realm of confections.

A consumer who knows his own interest favors non-profit organizations such as the Consumer Coöperatives. He carefully avoids concerns which falsely use the term "Mutual" or "Coöperative" or "Consumer" in their titles when in fact they are not under complete consumer control. First as a patron, then a small shareholder, he comes to participate actively in the Consumers Coöperative Movement.² He takes part in management meetings, and he may become a voluntary leader or an employee of his local coöperative. Developing an enthusiasm for coöperation, he is likely to

carry its methods and philosophy into entirely new fields of consumer service.

BEGINNING with an effort to avoid price exploitation, and the flood of shoddy goods, the consumer soon comes to a consideration of human values involved. Once the motive of craftsmanship went far toward keeping the world efficient and happy. This motive, and its self-expression through the homely arts of everyman, can be applied with as much satisfaction in the field of consumption as it ever was in production. Especially for men whose part in the productive system is highly mechanized, the creative instinct can find expression in the arts of use, and in the subordinate art of buying well.

As he becomes fully convinced that use is more important than profit, the intelligent consumer revises his whole system of things. He uses differently, buys differently and has different ideals of production. He is likely to make more for himself, buying and selling less, and handling less money. He seeks to work out a good living, independent of the bad examples of rich wasters and the misleading pressure of sales agencies.

In the fine arts and in all practical arts the best creations are founded upon directness, simplicity, economy of means and good proportion. The art of living cannot express these principles while we continue to imitate cheaply the customs, fashions, and fads of richer spenders. Better models are to be found among persons who have wrought best with ordinary means.

FROM the standpoint of art in living, there are four advantages in seeking to create one's good life from such ordinary means:

1. It is in the nature of a man to be pleased by his sense of solidarity with the normal middle-class majority. Just as it can disturb one very badly, upsetting the whole subconscious life, so this instinct when honored can calm and strengthen a man or woman.
2. It is in the nature of a man to wish to do a good job. If his effort to *excel other men* is consistent with this, such competition is useful. A man can be happy living better than his fellows by using the common materials to better advantage. This is a real trial of skill, creative in itself and using competition only as an incidental stimulus. Neither victory nor defeat damages any competitor, except in his superficial vanity.
3. It is in the nature of a man to be misled easily in

¹ Published by Consumers' Research, Inc., 47 Charles Street, New York, N. Y.
\$2 with annual membership.

² Cooperative League of America, 167 W. 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

competition and in speculation. As soon as these motives escape from their proper position subordinate to the craftsmanship motive, the man is perverted. He becomes so absorbed that victory or defeat is more important than the accompanying creation. He subordinates his whole personality to his vanity, which is no longer superficial but becomes dominant. Prestige attaches to illusory gains and to speculative excitement and not to craftsmanship, creation, usefulness, wholesomeness, fairness, happiness.

Just as craftsmanship and artistry make a wholesome man, so over-competition makes an unwholesome one. A man's relationship to others is better when based upon thoroughly developed good relationships to things and to his other selves. Yet when involved in competitions not of the creation-stimulating kind and hence not deeply satisfying, men still persist in them, seeking to justify rather than to correct their error.

A great point with mismade personalities is to justify themselves by leading others into the same warped ways. Persons whose defects of nature or education commit them irrevocably to the wasting classes, soon seek their pleasures elsewhere than in simple wasting. Thorstein Veblen has described their position. They must compensate the emptiness of their own lives by disturbing others. Their more durable satisfaction is in pampered pompous exhibitionism. Their art of living is as poor and inadequate as the art of a show-off in any field.

4. Understanding that this is a background out of which not much good can be expected, an artist in living will make considerable allowance for the antics, manias, and deceptions of those poor livers, the rich. Such allowance will not blind him to the terrible power for evil which they exercise over the lives of others. In alliance with tricky salemen, deceptive advertising and the general attitude of "keeping up with the Joneses," the rich have an especially pernicious power over the half-rich and the near-rich—that is, individuals whose total cost of living is much above \$2 a day (for each member of the family). Upon this class there is heavy pressure to imitate the grossly rich in their methods of wasting materials and the labor of other people. To escape this pressure, one who desires artistry in living is glad to be identified with his neighbors of average means. A true artist in living always will bear in mind the fact that typical Americans must keep their costs in the neighborhood of \$2 a day. That roughly is the extent of our means.³

WHEN a man shall have proven his personal ability by living well with ordinary means, his example and his opinion as to how his fellows shall

live may have a certain validity. So long as he does only ordinarily well with his means, or so long as he uses means unavailable to most, or has too little means, the general validity of his method is doubtful.

By making his own life exemplary, a consumer artist, a craftsman in the ways of using materials for life will exchange opinion and materials with like-minded pioneers. He will relate his life to that of the whole middle class—that is, persons not in the wastrel quarter of our population nor yet in the destitute quarter. To help the destitute he will give directly of his labor and literally share his goods, utilizing the co-ordinating service of the local clearing-house of charities. He will study to give his aid in a really helpful form, scientifically. With the rich as persons, he has little concern except those who voluntarily return to normal. For the correction of conditions which give undue power to individuals because of their wealth, he relies upon political progress, led by technicians, not by doctrinaires.

HOW can one find or create good living? Here is a problem for individuals that is full of social consequences. Who will lead in exemplifying or describing the consumer's arts? Would these arts be encouraged by a Consumer's Fellowship? An artist in living will get satisfaction from showing to any friend or any friendly stranger the best that has been learned or contrived. Constantly he will look for the same help from his fellows. If at first he finds few people in his neighborhood who are helpful in this way, he will seek afar for those who have a similar interest in living well and spending fairly.⁴

A Prosperity Sandwich

The laboring class was not seriously affected by last year's crisis. Personally, I find it hard to be pessimistic with a yearly national income of \$90,000,000,000.—*Mr. Francis H. Sisson, Vice President of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, quoted in the New York Times, April 3, 1930.*

Christopher J. Dunn, Acting Commissioner of Public Welfare, announced yesterday that the 1,538 men, women, and children who spent Tuesday night at the Municipal Lodging House broke all records for attendance since the shelter was opened in 1909.—*New York Times, April 3 1930.*

Reports compiled by the National City Bank of New York state that earnings of approximately eight hundred domestic corporations for 1929 show net profits of four billion dollars, a gain of more than twelve per cent over 1928.—*Syndicated banking circular, March 25, 1930.*

³ Derived from W. I. King, "The National Income and Its Purchasing Power," 1930.

⁴ A group of members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation invite anyone who may be interested to communicate with them through Samuel Cornelius, Room 383, Bible House, Astor Place, New York, N. Y.

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson

The Truth Will Out

Nobody yet has attempted a history of the corruption, political, military and financial, of the Revolutionary War. It stank to heaven then, but historians have preferred to leave it under the smothering mantel of laurels and immortelles that have been heaped to heaven by the orators and prose poets.—*Rupert Hughes, George Washington, vol. III, p. 70.*

Science Is Indebted

A right attitude is nearly always halfway to the solution of any problem. If religion should cease to throw its weight upon the side of intellectual honesty, the open-minded love of truth, and the service of humanity through the discovery of truth, it is safe to say that the springs of scientific inquiry would dry up in three or four generations.—*Charles A. Ellwood, Man's Social Destiny, p. 192.*

Modern Mania for Print

Today, printing has gone mad and the world is in danger of being submerged by the ocean of books. Eleven thousand volumes are annually published in France alone, to about seventy under Louis XIV. And who can think, without feeling dizzy and sick, of the billions of words that deluge America every Sunday morning?—*Ernest Dimnet, The Art of Thinking, p. 82.*

What Youth Wants

Youth sees the vast and almost overwhelming problems of humanity. It feels keenly and personally the unfilled needs of the people, the sterility of theological achievement and the gap between theoretical and applied Christianity. It is profoundly uninterested in the "rules of the game"; it wants to work, to play, to live and learn in order to develop a personal and abiding faith.—*Clarence Cook Little, The Awakening College, p. 262.*

Moral Degradation

In every country, by means of flag-waving, Empire Day, Fourth of July celebrations, Officers' Training Corps, etc., everything is done to give boys a taste for homicide and girls a conviction that men given to homicide are the most worthy of respect. This whole system of moral degradation to which innocent boys and girls are exposed would become impossible if the authorities allowed freedom of opinion to teachers and pupils.—*Bertrand Russell, Sceptical Essays, p. 205.*

Nobody Knows

Nobody really knows what is happening in Russia. But there's the germ of something new there. Communism will probably fail at first. The democracy that the French Revolution established failed at first. Dictators and absolute monarchs rose up and stamped it out and stood on it for fifty years. But the idea lived. Half a century later the bourgeoisie made political democracy work. It was political rights that mattered then. Now it's economic rights.—*Mary Lee, It's a Great War, p. 304.*

Absurd

"A war to end war" is an absurdity. Can Satan cast out Satan?—can I by acting like the devil cast the devil out of people?—*E. Stanley Jones, The Christ of Every Road, p. 193.*

Science to the Rescue

Common sense and all the other theories of the treatment of human beings in distress are in a fair way to being displaced nowadays by science. It is only recently that science has been applied to the human mind.—*Karl A. Menninger, The Human Mind, p. 11.*

Shall the Twain Meet?

One of the most romantic and ironical aspects of modern nationalistic imperialism has been the gradual but comprehensive penetration of Asia by the industrial and capitalistic powers of the West.—*Harry Elmer Barnes, World Politics in Modern Civilization, p. 212.*

We Retrogress

The American boy leaves school with a more or less definite idea that what is called culture is a luxury, that is to say, a superficiality. He has not been taught to view Latin as an artistic mosaic, or English composition as an effort to rise above himself. His imagination has been discouraged rather than cultivated. He is far inferior in cultural respect to the American of eighty years ago.—*Ernest Dimnet, The Art of Thinking, p. 68.*

Origin of the Middle Man

In a nation where the few who really rule must get some show of popular consent, a special class arises whose function it is not to govern, but to secure the approval of the people for whatever policy may have been decided upon by that inevitable oligarchy which hides in the heart of every democratic state. We call this class of men politicians. Let us not talk about them.—*Will Durant, The Mansions of Philosophy, p. 437.*

High-brow

Your genuine high-brow is the simon pure provincial of the spirit. Whenever a new book comes out he reads an old one. He prefers the eighteenth century to the nineteenth and the nineteenth to the twentieth. He is full of arbitrary rejections. He will not go to the moving pictures, he will not listen to jazz. He reads only English novels because American fiction is becoming increasingly vulgar. Or he will read Thornton Wilder but not Sinclair Lewis. He will read Galsworthy but not Wells. He has brought himself to taste gingerly of Walt Whitman but he retches at Carl Sandburg. He acknowledges Monet but still balks at Cezanne. He thinks Brahms perfect, rules out Puccini, walks out on George Gershwin. Babbitt (Irving, not George F.) and Paul Elmer More are his gods.—*Robert E. Rogers, The Fine Art of Reading, p. 48.*

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

The New Order—And How

IN A volume entitled *A New Economic Order*, Kirby Page has brought together a series of twenty-four articles which originally appeared in *THE WORLD TOMORROW*. Part I is devoted to "Rival World Movements: Pro and Con," and contains eight articles which respectively defend and criticize Capitalism, Fascism, Communism, and Socialism. Part II which has sixteen articles, is entitled, "Ways of Transforming the Present Competitive System into a Coöperative Order."

It is not possible, in the brief compass of this review, to give the consideration to this collection which the quality of the articles deserves. It must suffice to call attention to certain outstanding aspects of the volume. Of the twenty-four articles at least fifteen are based on the assumption that some system of collective ownership and operation of industry is desirable. Five of the articles include effective statements of the merits of particular movements and concise information concerning their extent. This group consists of articles on family allowances, by Paul Douglas; on consumers' coöperation, by Cedric Long; on coöperative marketing, by G. H. Ward; on public ownership, by Harry W. Laidler; and on international economic coöperation, by Mr. Page. These essays, offering a multitude of facts in a few pages, should prove especially valuable. There are a number of other articles which are worth mention because they present incisively and eloquently the merits of certain movements. Among this group are the essays on Socialism, by Norman Thomas; on social insurance, by I. M. Rubinow; and on political action, by Reinhold Niebuhr.

H. R. Mussey's contribution "Capitalism Weighed in the Balance," is especially interesting. Mr. Mussey believes that capitalism's great weakness is its unethical foundation and its materialistic spirit, rather than its economic wastefulness. Since, in his opinion, capitalism "has piled up for some of us material wealth beyond all previous dreams, and has given to all of us a measure of comfort not hitherto attained by any people," it seems reasonable to suggest that those who desire a different industrial system should speak less of the shortcomings of capitalism as a system of turning out material goods, and more of its obvious failure to promote the spiritual life.

The liberal readers of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* must have reacted interestingly to the following statements in the essay entitled, "A Defense of Fascism," by Angelo F. Guidi, of the Fascisti League of North America: "In Italy newspapers may print anything they like but nothing against God, the king, the government, or anything featuring immorality." And again, "according to Mussolini's political philosophy, the state is a kind of concentrated, organized, authoritative democracy."

One closes this book impressed by the diversity of movements which may be regarded as ways of bringing about a genuinely coöperative society. The protagonists of some of the panaceas

here discussed assume that theirs is the only effective and desirable road to the new society. Some of them tend, in their exuberant advocacy, to become uncritical. The success which certain movements, such as social insurance, consumers' coöperation, and public ownership have experienced indicates that the world does move, and that its progress is most likely to be the result of a wide variety of movements rather than of any particular one.

E. C. Lindeman, in one of the concluding essays in this collection, suggests that the important thing is not so much the final goal as the readiness to experiment and find the "authentic social process which is the way" to this goal. Harry F. Ward, on the contrary, believes that it is essential to be conscious of the goal which is being attempted, though he recognizes the importance of experimenting along the way. The evidence presented in this volume indicates that the awareness of a goal and experimentation with a considerable variety of methods have together produced social progress. Those who have insisted upon a goal and a direction have directly or indirectly shaped the character of particular movements; on the other hand, the goal itself has been brought closer to our times by the efforts of the practical workers in such movements, as for example, social insurance and consumers' coöperation.

On the title page of his great work on the principles of economics Alfred Marshall inscribed the motto, *Natura non fecit saltum*. Minor advances from day to day and year to year on many fronts do not, when considered separately, appear to be very significant. Examine the totality of social progress which results from them at intervals of twenty-five or fifty years, and changes of revolutionary importance will be found. This truth is the basis for the faith of those who believe in orderly advance toward a coöperative society. For such persons the articles brought together in this volume offer encouraging testimony that the world can and does move. (Published by Harcourt, Brace. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.00.)

EDWARD BERMAN

American Imperialism

THE foreign relations of the United States are being increasingly discussed in terms of "imperialism," that catch-all which is used to describe the relations between great powers and the lesser peoples of the earth. It has been the custom in this country to decry the use of the term in the discussion of American policies and programs—it is traditional that *our* government and people are anti-imperialistic. However, those who wish to criticize American policy, especially toward "backward peoples," have found this vocabulary useful in attracting attention to their charges, and they have persisted in its employment until now most studies of the foreign policy of the United States include some mention of imperialism.

Three recent books are chiefly concerned with this subject, although they approach it in different ways. A comparison of the arguments they set forth, the materials they bring to the support of their theses, and of their conclusions may assist the reader who is concerned with getting light on the questions at issue.

In *The Imperial Dollar* Hiram Motherwell surveys American imperialism from a somewhat different angle than most writers. He disposes of the early period of expansion on the North American continent as nationalism, not imperialism. The later American territorial acquisitions in the Pacific and in the Caribbean he considers as clearly imperialistic in character, and he emphasizes the benevolent moral purposes that were used, both for home consumption and as a rebuke to foreign critics, to cloak the advancement of American interests. But he feels that since the Great War there has been a far more important development in the relations of the United States to the rest of the world, which has set this country unalterably on the course of world empire.

Mr. Motherwell's thesis is that machine production in the United States has been brought to such a high degree of efficiency that it is conquering the markets of the world and is destined to continue its expansion almost indefinitely. But he makes use of the studies of the Department of Commerce to show that this so-called "unfavorable" balance of trade is corrected by certain "invisible" items such as tourist expenditures abroad, and he sees no reason why we should not defy the time-honored laws of the economists and continue to invade world markets, even without letting down our own tariff barrier to foreign products.

The financial and economic power of the United States is producing an imperial control of the affairs of other nations, advanced and powerful industrial societies as well as backward peoples, greater than any history has known, with the possible exception of the Roman Empire, according to Mr. Motherwell. But he rejects the parallel of a "modern Rome," for he points out that the American system is built on economic strength while Rome crumbled because it was economically unhealthy.

The prospect of American empire is not alarming to this author. On the contrary, he believes that its selfish interest coincides with "the need of the world, the need for peaceful, creative development." His only concern is that the American people may stand in the way of this imperial destiny, seeking to perpetuate their traditional political doctrines of isolation, rather than directing their growing influence for the good of the world. He says that the active promotion of export trade is the one definite world-policy which America has yet evolved, and in his opinion this program is admirable; he deplores the fact that in comparison political policy has been hesitant and short-sighted.

The book is interesting and readable. Mr. Motherwell is a journalist, and editor of the Theatre Guild Magazine; although he bases his argument mainly on economic materials, he succeeds in making them dramatic and understandable to the layman.

In *The United States and the Caribbean*, the second short volume of a series that the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations is bringing out on "American Policies Abroad," we have a direct and vigorous discussion of American foreign relations in that area where they have most frequently been termed imperialistic. Three writers have been called upon to engage in the discussion, two to present opposing points of view on the main questions at issue, and a third to give historical background for the argument.

Parker Thomas Moon, of Columbia University, contends with force and logic that on a great many counts the policy and program of the United States in the Caribbean is of the same nature

as imperialism in other parts of the world. In a well-documented statement he summarizes our present interests in that area and how they were obtained, and he scores American policy not only because it has been inconsiderate of the rights and interests of others, but because it has been confused and inconsistent in the pursuit of the avowed interests of the United States.

Henry Kittredge Norton, taking up the cudgels in defense of American policy, paints a sorrowful picture of the impotence of most if not all native governments in this area when left to their own devices. Over half of this statement is taken up with recounting episodes in the history of Cuba and Haiti which he infers are typical.

To Chester Lloyd Jones, of the University of Wisconsin, was assigned the task of presenting the historical facts. He covers the history of each country and dependency in and around the Caribbean from the earliest times to the present, and, with the single exception of Nicaragua, each story is reduced to little more than an outline. In addition Professor Jones gives a helpful summary of some handicaps to Caribbean development, and his own analysis of the problems facing American policy there. His conclusion is that the only danger worthy of apprehension is the ever-present possibility that European powers may jeopardize the control of territory now exercised by Americans.

This book is as a whole vigorous and challenging in many ways because of its conflict of opinion, and it will be in favor with busy readers because of its brevity. But it has decided limitations. The two protagonists fail too often really to join the issue because their papers evidently were prepared without conference. Nor does the objective statement of "the facts" in the third paper afford a good foundation for judgment since it is too brief and general in its statements.

The Council of Foreign Relations (with offices in New York City) has given us very much the sort of historical statement that we need in its *Survey of American Foreign Relations—1929*, prepared under the direction of Charles P. Howland. Although the book includes a section on International Organization and a full discussion of American Immigration, nearly two-thirds of its five hundred pages are devoted to the Caribbean.

This *Survey* has much to commend it. It has been carefully prepared, and a definite attempt has been made to keep it well-balanced. Where events or interpretations are matters of controversy, both sides have been given. Some will feel, of course, that it deals too harshly with American policy in the Dominican Republic during President Wilson's administrations, and with American action in Nicaragua during the most recent civil conflict there. Others will not understand its support or defense of Rooseveltian policies in Panama and Santo Domingo. The editor explains that no attempt has been made to write history, that existing studies have been relied on, and that the purpose is chiefly to describe the present-day foreign relations of the United States.

The reader with limited time will do well to combine the controversial parts of the Chicago Council's book with a careful reading of the facts as presented in this latest *Survey* of our foreign relations. And he will have his thinking on the future of American imperialism stimulated by devoting an evening to *The Imperial Dollar*. (*The Imperial Dollar*, Brentano, \$3.50. *The United States and the Caribbean*, University of Chicago Press, \$1.50. *Survey of American Foreign Relations*, Yale University Press, \$5.00. All three books may be ordered through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, postpaid.)

ROY VEATCH

Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas

ONLY a few years ago Gandhi was an unknown person. Today in India his name is a household word, and he is famous throughout the world. Born in an orthodox Hindu home and reared in the caste system, he went at an early age to England to study law; returning to India he practiced law, but not with marked success in a worldly way. Going to South Africa on behalf of a Mohammedan client, he remained on behalf of his fellow countrymen who were suffering hardships there.

The story of his successful experiments with non-violence in South Africa, resulting in the Gandhi-Smut agreement, preceded his return to India in 1915. Somewhat inconsistently with his own teaching, it would seem, he supported the Allies during the World War and urged those who believed in the war to enlist. But after its close, the Rowlett Bill and other doings of the British completely disillusioned him. He then inaugurated the non-violent, non-coöperation movement in India, and at once became an unchallenged leader of his people. The use of violence by persons who claimed to follow him caused him to call off the movement at a time when it was gaining strength. Imprisonment followed. Mr. Andrews tells simply but vividly of the happenings of those direful days, and whenever possible he lets Gandhi speak in his own language.

The chief merit of the book is its sympathetic understanding of Gandhi's beliefs and aims. Ability to enter into the life and culture of another race is a rare gift; but Mr. Andrews has it in large measure. He is in all respects the broadest possible Christian. Gandhi, on the other hand, is still in many ways rather a narrow Hindu. But even the Mahatma's most conservative positions are set forth by Andrews in the fairest way possible.

Gandhi's beliefs might be summed up as follows, provided Mr. Andrews is not held responsible for the wording of the summary:

- (1) Belief in the Hindu scriptures, in much the fashion that a modernist Christian believes in the bible—that is, not as exclusively nor entirely divine but subject to interpretations.
- (2) Belief in *Varna*. Not as found in the present crude and popular caste system, but as predetermination of a man's profession. The son by an immutable law of nature tends to follow the profession of his father. *Varna* (caste) does not necessarily prohibit inter-dining and inter-marriage, but abstaining from such practices does lend itself to the highest self-discipline.
- (3) Belief in the protection of the cow as a symbol of the sacredness of all life and the giver of plenty.
- (4) Belief in the oneness of God. Idols are symbols that may aid worship.
- (5) Belief in *Swadeshi*—that is, that one's immediate surroundings hold first place in one's loyalties. A sort of parochial patriotism.
- (6) Belief in *Ahimsa*—that is, non-violence, involving the positive doing of good as well as the refusal to do harm.
- (7) Belief in home-spinning both as intrinsically good and as the very heart of the non-coöperation movement.
- (8) Belief in the equality of rights for men and women.
- (9) Belief in the absolute abolition of "untouchability."
- (10) Belief in celibacy as a condition of the highest spiritual life; and if universally practiced, the means of transferring the human species to a higher plane.
- (11) Belief in the religious use of politics.
- (12) And now since January first, complete independence for India.

To a western mind these beliefs seem a curious mixture of ancient superstition and modern democratic aspirations. It passes belief that a man of Gandhi's ability could take seriously the heredity of professions, celibacy, and cow protection; and that he should expect his people to refrain from violence in a non-violent revolution. Nevertheless and notwithstanding, Mr. Gandhi is undoubtedly one of the greatest living men, and Mr. Andrews has drawn his portrait with authority, comprehension, and skill. (Published by Macmillan. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.00 postpaid.)

CURTIS W. REESE

Defending Mother India

AMONG recent books on India are two by Englishmen—*The Case for India*, by John S. Hoyland, and *An Englishman Defends Mother India*, by Ernest Wood.

Mr. Wood's qualifications are indicated on the title page of his volume. A member of the English Society of Friends, he has spent more than fifteen years in India, first in Hoshangabad, a small town in Central India, where he had charge of a high school, and then in the large industrial city of Nagpur, where he was on the staff of a Scottish missionary college. Probably no missionary in India surpasses him in his ability to understand the Indian temperament. At the same time he maintains an independence of viewpoint that makes his interpretations all the more reliable.

As for Mr. Wood's book, one regrets that it is so largely taken up with refuting Miss Mayo. Whatever contribution that "extremely ill-balanced onslaught upon Indian life," as Mr. Hoyland calls it, may have made toward social reform, it has left an extremely bad impression in the minds of Indians, and should now be allowed to slip into the discard. The most effective section of *An Englishman Defends Mother India* is that which deals with education, for here the author seems most at home. For the rest, the book takes up in turn such topics as the family, marriage, religions, character and manners, sanitation, medicine, the caste system, the princes, the villages, industries, taxation and expenditures, and the Reforms. Miss Mayo's charges are quoted or summarized and the reply is given. Greater compactness and a more effective net result would have come from a less slavish following of *Mother India's* pattern.

Clearness, precision, accuracy, proportion, and intimate understanding characterize *The Case for India*. A small book of 173 pages, it is divided into two main parts: Factors in the Present Situation in India and The Indian Point of View. Part One lays stress on the average Englishman's opinion of Indians and India, showing the serious effects of unsympathetic, patronizing, or discourteous attitudes which lie at the very root of "the disastrous cleavage between England and India." There follows a crisp account of the birth of the new Indian nation during this twentieth century. Two succinct chapters on Hinduism and Islam admirably sketch in the religious background without which all understanding of India is misunderstanding. And then a very fair discussion of the British system, its undoubtedly immense benefits to India as well as its weaknesses. The author is convinced that self-government is the only possible end and that the particular form which it takes must be settled by the Indians themselves, England's duty being to render the transition period as brief and frictionless as possible and to see to it that the future leaders are rightly trained.

In Part Two a surprisingly successful attempt is made to show

how educated Indians themselves feel about their country and her future. The author's knowledge has that quality of thoroughness and humanness of touch that makes his summaries and generalizations peculiarly dependable. Most heartily do we commend this book which in its realm and within its scope is the best we have seen. (*An Englishman Defends Mother India*, published by Garesh and Co., \$1.75. *The Case for India*, published by J. M. Dent & Sons, \$2.00. Through the World Tomorrow Book Shop, postpaid.)

F. V. SLACK

Another Uncle Tom's Cabin

AMID the flood of fiction, *Consequences*, by Julia Ellsworth Ford, is an unusual book. It is a good story that grips one from first to last. But more than that it is quite frankly, though not blatantly, a story with a purpose—a high purpose shot through with side-lights on many of the important questions of our time. Its main theme is reciprocal race responsibility. It is in fact a plea for a relationship of equality between the races of the Occident and the Orient, in place of the old relationship of superior and inferior or, more properly, exploiter and exploited. More particularly, it deals with the opium evil in China and western responsibility therefore. John Haynes Holmes, who has written a vivid and arresting introduction, declares that this book "may do with the drug or narcotic evil today what Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* did with the evil of chattel slavery yesterday."

The story concerns young Lord Ramondi, scion of a noble house and heir to a great fortune, who early discovers that his title is a hindrance rather than a help and that his fortune is, even worse, an iniquity. Ann Youle might be one of Shaw's heroines, so modern is she in her views and so clever in stating them. Yet she does not fall in love with the hero or marry him, and is a splendid exemplar of what might be called non-possessive love. (Published by E. P. Dutton & Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.50 postpaid.)

GEORGE GROVER MILLS

Education Under the Microscope

"THE University of Michigan community . . . is progressive only in narrow streaks, progressive as to things, to comforts and indulgences rather than to ideas. We of the Middle West are suspicious of new ideas, particularly if they imply social or intellectual changes. We are strongly devoted to habit and the status quo. We are loyal to traditions even though these are the result of yesterday's accidental happenings." With this damning indictment as a text, Professor John E. Kirkpatrick in *College Control in Michigan* proceeds to analyze the situation which last year brought about the resignation of Dr. Clarence Cook Little who had served briefly and brilliantly as president of the University of that state. Students of social conditions as well as educators and liberals generally should read this book; the problems it describes are not confined to Michigan but are common to many institutions of higher learning. In addition to the State University and normal schools, Albion, Olivet and a number of other privately endowed colleges have their academic sclerosis diagnosed. The three concluding chapters of the book are contributed by Kenyon L. Butterfield, Preston W. Slosson, and Orland O. Norris.

Force and Freedom in Education, also by Mr. Kirkpatrick, is an excellent brochure on American education in the large—the evils that beset it, the hopeful signs of awakening on the part of teach-

ers, administrators, pupils, and parents. The author deplores the standardization of so many of our educational systems, the rigidity of their curricula, the economic compulsion which motivates teachers producing in them a resultant timidity and repression, the indifferent lock-step submission of pupils. "We have," he says, "constructed only the machinery of education, having yet to learn the art of education. . . . What we now have is not education at all, merely instruction and discipline, mass schooling in the interest of the status quo, while our most urgent need is for the freeing of the mind of youth so that it may be 'fit for the new world that is in the making.'"

Both books are written with the dispassionate calm of the scientific mind rather than the truculent propagandism of an Upton Sinclair. There remains but one further task in the critical inventory of our nation's educational stock—an exposé of the politics and chicanery that dominate the administration of city public school systems of which Chicago is a late and glowing example. One wishes Mr. Kirkpatrick would undertake the job. (Published by the Antioch Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.00 and \$1.75 postpaid.)

G. E. M.

Anglo-American Conflict

RECENTLY two books have appeared both of which are an effort to examine Anglo-American relations impartially. The first and more significant of the two is *America Conquers Great Britain*, by Ludwell Denny.

Through chapter after chapter Mr. Denny gives a concrete and specific picture of Anglo-American economic rivalry as it exists today. He visualizes for us the decline of the British Empire and the rise of the American Empire; the shift from the Coal Age to the Oil and the Electric Age; the inevitable rise of America's strength, "which was exhilarated, but not caused by the War." He gives us a detailed comparison of the two empires and the actual economic war which, he argues, is now in progress and is bound to increase. The most interesting actor he brings on this stage is Herbert Hoover. Of him he says, "He (Hoover) did not conceive America in the political terms of a McKinley or a Roosevelt as a future territorial empire, fashioned after the traditional British model, which he knows so well. He saw the future America as a new type empire—an economic world empire built on business efficiency, held together by lines of trade and credit."

The chapter, "New Markets for Old" covers our trade in the Orient and Central and South America as well as our economic invasion of the British Dominions.

And the author's discussion of the debt problem deserves particular mention. In a clear, sympathetic way he clarifies the issues—and the ignorance—on both sides of the Atlantic, and indirectly makes a plea for more intelligence and fair play in dealing with this "difficult and disagreeable subject." These chapters, technical and highly documented, are nevertheless, as fascinating as a novel.

Perhaps no portion of this book is more interesting to the student of international affairs than that which deals with the penetration of American electric power into England. Mr. Denny draws the serious conclusion that our power and greed plus the inevitable processes of expansion will lead us on to conquer, through these new and subtle economic weapons, not only Britain but the world; that perhaps "nothing can stop us—nothing until our financial empire rots at its heart, as empires have a way of doing."

It is unfortunate that the author completely omits any evaluation of those forces which have been at work since the end of the last war, forces that are working toward the establishment of international machinery. He is impatient with the peace movement both in America and England and accuses it of using "hush, hush" methods which are, he believes, akin to the old ways of secret diplomacy and which peace organizations so stoutly condemn in governments. By allying themselves with these methods he complains that peace advocates help to silence intelligent and responsible inquiry, and he argues that "if ever people refuse to fight, if ever they refuse to believe in the propaganda and war lies of governments, if ever they decide that the actual faults of the enemy cannot be corrected on the battlefield, it will be because they understand the nature of the conflict. . . . Soon or late come crises. Soon or late come stupid or vicious governments, ready to convert such crises into war, and if that time should come, British and American public opinion in its present state could not be trusted. The danger is in the people's ignorance. They believe that international conflicts can be settled by armies and navies. They still believe that a war can be won."

Though he is contemptuous of peace organizations, regarding them as superficial and unscientific and sophomoric, nevertheless there is little evidence that Mr. Denny has any appreciation of those lesser though equally real problems of the peace movement, namely the effort to reconcile the positive approach with all the sinister barriers to world peace which he so ably records. He somewhat oversimplifies what may often appear to outsiders as superficial effort, and one wants to remind him of the not infrequent groups of grown-up, voting citizens who still are able in the Year of Our Lord 1930 to confuse the World Court, the League of Nations and the Polish Corridor! It is then that one is almost able to believe it is impossible to "over-estimate the stupidity of any audience." As to the American public, one might also add that it is impossible to over-estimate the need to demonstrate "success." It is regrettable that in this masterly book Mr. Denny failed to suggest that the peace movement cannot make this "success demonstration"—(and given an American psychology it must do this)—and at the same time make the public face the distasteful and intricate facts which utterly overwhelm it with a sense of despair and send it back to reliance on violence as the only effective method. But this is the problem of the peace movement.

To the layman this book may present unsurmountable difficulties. He may dismiss it with a dismal sense of futility. But no person genuinely interested in peace can afford to miss it. To the pacifist it will offer a fresh challenge to his courage and his daring. It will impel him to re-evaluate pacific methods and technique in the light of these facts, and it will goad him to a more scientific, honest, and intelligent approach.

America and England, by Nicholas Roosevelt, is neither so comprehensive nor important a book as Mr. Denny's, but it may prove more popular. The author gives a brief analysis of the Anglo-American economic conflict and discusses particularly naval rivalries and freedom of the sea. His answer to the problem lies in the British Dominions as interpreter and peace-maker, and he hopes to see Britain and America "work out a form of partnership which would be based not on rivalry but on the pursuit of common interests to mutual advantage." (*America Conquers Britain*, published by Knopf, \$4.00. *America and England*, published by Cape and Smith, \$2.50. Postpaid through The World Tomorrow Book Shop.)

DOROTHY DETZER

This World of Nations

A RATHER light-hearted book with an international slant is *This World of Nations*, by Pitman B. Potter. There is always a doubt in the mind of the convinced pacifist, or even the thorough-going internationalist, as to the value of a book written by one who describes himself, as does this author, as not overstrongly convinced of the great principles involved in internationalism; and yet it is well to welcome respectfully any effort to promote the idea of world organization, though it be written by a polite skeptic.

Professor Potter introduces himself as a realist—"not an extremist of any kind." Certainly he is not a militarist, jingoist, or an ardent nationalist any more than he is a non-resistant, conscientious objector pacifist. He is not, certainly, an isolationist when it comes to American foreign policy, nor does he feel that all will be lost and America eternally disgraced unless she joins the League of Nations. He is neither a one hundred percent Lodge Republican nor a one hundred percent Wilson Democrat. . . . He is "devoted or committed to only one main view in regard to this whole international problem: that the present world of nations must, as a matter of reason and policy, be at once and from now on provided with organized international government commensurate with the world-wide individual and international interests which are developing year by year."

By way of being realistic, we are warned against laying too much emphasis upon the more striking aspects of international relations, after the fashion of the newspapers, and are referred as an antidote to the *Hilltop on the Marne*, which Professor Potter attributes, surprisingly enough, to Edith Wharton! We wish he had paged Mildred Aldrich or that the proofreader had done so. At any rate, it is well to stress the human aspect of the disruption of life caused by war.

There are good chapters on international law, diplomacy, arbitration, peace, and the League of Nations, and a concluding, distinctly provocative discussion of the future of international affairs.

Believing in the inevitability of the set toward internationalism, and being a practical man, the author stresses personal responsibility repeatedly: "Talking to one's friends and thus helping to form public opinion is not without its effect." Studying the course of American foreign relations and thus preparing oneself for such activities might also be suggested. Again: "Let it be repeated: the people of the United States could control absolutely the conduct of their foreign affairs at any moment if they seriously cared to do so."

In his preface, which we assume was written after the book was finished and therefore expresses the writer's ripest thought, he says with great seriousness: "Finally there is one basic assumption made in all that follows . . . the assumption that nations act upon the motive of self-interest and not of altruism. . . . That the nations engaged therein [international coöperation] are actuated by motives of service to one another or at least by motives of mutual service is no part of the present writer's thought or intention."

There is, of course, a wide difference between personal and national self-interest, but the above assumption seems unnecessarily cynical. Is there any reason why a nation should not be nobly motivated or why a high standard should not be set by patriotic citizens for their country's international conduct? (Published by Macmillan. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$4.00 postpaid.)

CAROLINE B. LA MONTE

WE RECOMMEND

When Mammoths Roamed the Frozen Earth, by Heinrich Schütz. Cape and Smith. 197 pages. \$2.50. Well illustrated and thrillingly written, this rousing book will at once educate the young reader and exert an irresistible appeal. A really fine piece of work. The clash of competitive animal life and the eternal struggle with nature are fittingly handled with an almost cosmic imagination and a prose that sparkles at times with poetic fire.

Dolls of Friendship. Friendship Press. \$1.50. (Sponsored by Committee on World Friendship Among Children.) This is "the story of a good-will project between the children of America and Japan," the story of "what proved to be a happy and satisfactory method for developing understanding, appreciation and friendly regard between the children of two countries." For this little volume address the Committee on World Friendship Among Children, 287 Fourth Ave., New York City.

Leaves of Wild Grape, by Helen Hoyt. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 112 pages. \$2.00. No true poetry can be other than personal, but these verses are personal and intimate, dealing with love and childbirth and parenthood. Miss Hoyt has grown, we feel, and if she has not yet attained the first rank—we do not think she has—she is gaining, while many fires that kindled when hers did through *Poetry* are only embers. Some of these poems were first printed in *THE WORLD TOMORROW*.

The Story of Religion, by Charles Francis Potter. Simon & Schuster. 627 pages. \$5.00. An interesting study of the lives of those who have been the exponents of new religious developments in various ages. The treatment is rather uneven, and there is a tendency to emphasize the peculiarities and oddities of many leaders; but the common elements in the experiences of these diverse characters are well portrayed. It might be said that the author describes but does not illumine his subjects.

The Beautiful Years, by Henry Williamson. Dutton. \$2.50. More firm and coherent than *The Pathway*, just as livingly stamped with the look of actual experience, almost as bold in its excursions athwart the usual and the accepted. Williamson's books move on an earth not exclusively belonging to man, and least of all to tidy and sane men, solid and triumphant man, or dimmed and disillusioned man. This book like the others is spangled with realization of glory and sweetness in the heavens above and the waters beneath the earth.

The Dissolution of the Hapsburg Monarchy, by Oscar Jászi. University of Chicago Press. 488 pages. \$3.00. A large book, and not for the reader of merely popular expositions. Nevertheless for one with a passion to get at the root of nationalism as exemplified by a concrete case, this study is unexcelled. Professor Jászi could do this task as could no other. When through with this volume nobody need explore into abstract discussions of the nationalistic phenomenon—here it all is, good, bad and indifferent—and mostly bad. The spirit underlying the author is winningly revealed by his dedication of the book to his father, "a physician on the Magyar-Rumanian border, who convinced me in my early childhood that any public policy not directed by moral principles is only a form of exploitation."

The Mexican Agrarian Revolution, by Frank Tannenbaum. Macmillan. 538 pages. \$2.50. It is impossible to understand Mexico without understanding Mexico's land institutions, traditions and problems. This is a thorough, dependable study.

The Riddle of Sex, by Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum. Macaulay. 362 pages. \$3.50. One of the more sensible and liberal discussions, frank and written out of a desire to be sound and useful rather than merely to make a splash.

Unemployment and Its Remedies, by Harry W. Laidler. League for Industrial Democracy. Pamphlet. 10 cents. Many works exist on unemployment—so many that one is moved to feel that works without faith are dead. Unemployment is like Mark Twain's weather. But Dr. Laidler with his customary clarity has summed up the problem and suggested concrete remedies.

A History of Nationalism in the East, by Hans Kohn. Harcourt, Brace. 476 pages. \$7.00. A German scholar with characteristic thoroughness discusses one of the most momentous questions confronting this generation. The development of nationalism in Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan and India is vividly sketched. The theme is so important and the manner of treatment so admirable that one regrets the prohibitive price of the volume. Why \$7.00 books?

The Coming of the White Man, 1492-1848, by Herbert Ingram Priestly. Macmillan. 412 pages. \$4.00. A new volume in a History of American Life in twelve volumes, of which the first four have been previously reviewed and praised in *THE WORLD TOMORROW*. The series is especially interesting for its strong emphasis and its fresh evaluations, not to mention its readability. On this point we feel that the present fifth volume says a trifle; still it is a moving tale and informative in the truest sense, in that it draws you into the period. The tremendous influence of Spanish colonization in the New World, often subordinated unwarrantably, is made unmistakable.

Up to Now, by Alfred E. Smith. Viking Press. 424 pages. \$5.00. The irreverent will wonder who was Mr. Smith's ghost writer. Nevertheless, a sprightly, readable volume with the former governor of New York as protagonist in an up-from-the-city-streets autobiography. Some of the pictures of New York in the eighties and nineties are delightful. As a politician Mr. Smith reveals a certain shrewdness and native insight into statecraft that explain his phenomenal rise to power and fame. There is, of course, a chapter entitled, "Putting Business Methods Into Government."

The Fine Art of Reading, by Robert E. Rogers. Stratford Co. 299 pages. \$2.50. "Literature," says Mr. Rogers, who, incidentally is the professor of snob fame at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "is neither a pastime nor, as the jargon of today goes, an escape. Literature is meat and drink." In a whimsical, delightfully non-academic manner the author discusses some of the reasons why people don't read more and tells them what they are missing. He does not exhort you to buy a five-foot shelf nor to read a blue book a day. But if his casual asides and provocative references to novels, plays and poems don't inspire you to read them (provided you already haven't) we are no prophet.

Greece Today, by Eliot Grinnell Mears. Stanford University Press. 336 pages. \$5.00. The vicissitudes of fortune experienced by the Greeks since the World War are incredible unless they are made crystal clear by such a book as this. Nobody who reads Professor Mears's volume will be likely to relegate small nations to a place of international unimportance. Here is everything: agriculture, products, the people, public finances, etc., and a peep into the probable future.

A Short History of Chinese Civilization, by Richard Wilhelm. Viking Press. 284 pages. \$4.00. The viewpoint of this none too readable but searching study is indicated by the following sentence about the author: "Richard Wilhelm went to China to preach Christianity to the heathen and returned to preach Chinese culture to the European." What a pity that so few ignorant and snooty Babbitts will never be capable of wading through this book, which had us yawning once or twice in spite of our honest appreciation.

CORRESPONDENCE

Taking Mr. Sims to Task

WITHOUT assuming for myself the near-omniscience claimed for mankind by Mr. Newell Sims in his article, "Religion and the Social Sciences," appearing in your April issue, may I presume to ask a question or two? In his endeavor to make out a case, has he not succumbed to the very temptation, for yielding to which he condemns all religionists and discredits their claims? When, in his eloquent peroration he exalts man as "Discoverer" and says that "he has pried into the mysteries of the universe until almost no secret thing is hid," is he not contradicting the most recent conclusions of astronomers, bio-chemists, physicists and all other masters of the physical sciences? In other words, in the face of Relativity, the Quantum theory and other postulates, are they not all admitting "the desperate state of their ignorance?" When he proclaims man as "Master," affirms man's conquest of nature and says that his civilization is the measure of his power to bring all these things into subjection, does he not avoid the fact that this Master is already in danger of being annihilated by the machine which he has created? When he again crowns man "Creator," is he not guilty of using the word "Creator" in an ambiguous sense without moral significance? And when he exalts "justice, peace, harmony, joy, freedom, good-will, coöperation and human excellence" as the objectives of a true social order, has he not stolen from Jesus and others to use it as an argument for the abandonment of religion?

Rochester, N. Y.

ANDREW GILLIES

India in Bondage

YOUR review of Dr. J. T. Sunderland's *India in Bondage* appearing in your March issue has been read with considerable surprise. This book is highly praised by Gandhi, Tagore, and many other eminent Indians, as well as by friends of India like C. F. Andrews and Mrs. Annie Besant. It is regarded by the British government as so formidable that in India it is a penal offense to sell it or to own it, although Dr. Sunderland nowhere counsels violence. They evidently think it easier to suppress the book than to refute it. *India in Bondage* seems to me invaluable as a treasury of facts that we need to know.

Dorchester, Mass.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Students' Tour of Socialism

READERS of THE WORLD TOMORROW will be interested in the announcement of the INTELLIGENT STUDENTS' TOUR OF SOCIALISM which is being planned for this summer by the League for Industrial Democracy, in coöperation with the Open Road, Inc., under the leadership of Dr. and Mrs. Harry W. Laidler. The group will be limited to fifteen. It will leave America on Saturday, June 28 on the S. S. Bremen, will visit London, Leningrad (via the Kiel Canal to Helsinfors), Moscow, Berlin, Vienna, Zurich, Geneva, and Paris and return to the United States August 23. In various centers the party will interview men and women prominent in the labor, socialist and communist movement and visit—to the extent that time permits—some of the more important coöperative, trade union and labor party institutions. Nor will the recreational side be overlooked.

Tens of thousands of students each year travel to Great Britain and the continent to study the culture of the past. Here is an opportunity to examine—even though briefly—the growing aspirations and accomplishments of those bent on building the social order of the future. The estimated cost of the trip is \$787. Those interested might communicate with the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, New York City or the Open Road, Inc.

New York City

NORMAN THOMAS

From Germany

I LIKE the spirit in which your magazine is written and that is the reason I renew the subscription for one year. But believe me, it is really nonsense on my part to send money to U. S. A. when Wall Street, through the Young Plan with the help of France's armies, is going to extract from Germany annually about 500 million dollars—an amount which is to be paid in cash and not in German products which foreign countries will not accept and against which the United States has put up import duties ranging from 60 to 90 per cent ad valorem.

I deny war because I cannot see that it helps mankind. But it is not easy to be a pacifist in a downtrodden country like Germany. I wish the German people were as national as the English and Americans and especially the Jews.

Schreibenberg, Saxony

GEORGE SCHNORR

The War in Samoa

WE in New Zealand are gravely concerned with conditions in Samoa, particularly the persecution of certain of its leaders and peace workers. In December, 1929, Chief Tamasese was executed by military authorities after having been held a convict exile for six months. The "crime" for which he gave his life was his refusal to pay taxes without representation through voting power. The Mau, a national Samoan organization of which Tamasese was a leader, is considered seditious by the New Zealand Military Dictatorship, and a harsh effort is being made to disperse it. Since the death of the Chief, matters have gone from bad to worse and a battleship loaded with marines and armed police has been sent to Samoa. Incidentally there is a complete lack of humor among the military, for they are sending an airplane which will fly over the bush and drop leaflets, asking the men to come out and no harm will be done them! Fugitive Samoans have complained that their homes are being broken into, their property destroyed, and their

wives and children driven out by Marines and police. The Military objective is to bring trade to a standstill and starve Samoans into submission. And in order to prosecute this "war" on a defenseless people, New Zealand is being put to great expense.

At a protest mass meeting held here in Wellington recently, a young Samoan declared his people were being treated far worse today than under the Germans against whom he fought during the World War. (That part of the Samoan Islands belonging formerly to Germany was in 1920 allotted to New Zealand as a mandatory of the League of Nations.) The same young man expressed great faith in the Labour Government of Great Britain and expressed a wish that Samoa might come directly under British rule. Feeling at this meeting ran high against the New Zealand government, and most of those present heartily endorsed the sentiment expressed by another speaker: "We in New Zealand as well as the Samoans are the victims of the military ideal, and we must work together to rid the world of the tyrant militarism."

Wellington, New Zealand

MARY DRURY

How Is It Possible?

Those who have enrolled for one of the

Upton Close Cultural Expeditions

of this summer, are asking this question, amazed at the quality of accommodations and amount of territory covered under efficient guidance and instruction, and delighted with the unheard-of low costs.

The most astonishing and unique travel opportunities offered students this summer are:

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Sailing July 2d and returning the first week of September.

Japan's most interesting cities and sacred rural communities, the *Inland Seas*, *China* and *Yellow Seas*, Peking (now Peiping), Sacred Mt. Tai, Tomb of Confucius, Nankin, sail on Yangtse Kiang, Shanghai, then Japan and home.

Two continuations have been arranged for those who have time:

CONTINUATION A: Thru Manchuria, Siberia and Russia in company with Alice and Upton Close.

CONTINUATION B: Via Hongkong, Singapore, Penang, Rangoon to India with one month's itinerary there, under the guidance of Dr. Albert E. André, for many years a resident of China, India and Tibet.

II. FIRST CULTURAL CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF SOUTH AMERICA

Leaving New York by *Santa Barbara* of the Grace Line, July 4th, and returning on Munson liner, *American Legion*, August 26th.

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Absentee Landlords

THE outstanding result of all the amenities of our government to the President-elect of Mexico is that the Mexican government is forced to acknowledge the "justification" of absentee land-holding and the private collection of the unearned increment in land value. And, if a sufficient number of peons are not provided with land to cultivate and make an honest living, the result is likely to be another revolution in the not distant future. Absentee land-holding was the cause of all previous Mexican revolutions as well as the Russian revolution, and was the ruination of Ireland for centuries.

Newark, N. J.

ALFRED N. CHANDLER

Our India Number

IT is indeed refreshing to read articles on the present struggle of India, contributed by able men who are in close touch with the spirit of India today. Our daily newspapers bring us so very little authentic information on that subject. I am now recommending your March issue to friends who are interested in India's struggles, and I have called attention to it through the columns of one of my church papers. However, to me, every number of THE WORLD TOMORROW is an inspiration towards a higher idealism.

Viborg, S. D.

MRS. NANNA GOODHOPE

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Militant Pacifism

THE First Annual Conference on Militant Pacifism will be held May 9-11, 1930, at Hudson Guild Farm, Netcong, N. J. The subjects for discussion and the speakers are: *Anti-War Tactics—Moderate or Militant?*, Leon Rosser Land and Jessie Wallace Hughan; *Youth and Militarism*, Tucker P. Smith and Joshua Lieberman; *The War Resisters' International*, John Nevin Sayre and Galen E. Russell; *Non-Violence as a Social Weapon*, Devere Allen; *How Can Peace Groups Work Together?*, Joseph B. Matthews, Devere Allen and Katherine D. Blake; *Labor, Socialism and War Resistance*, Joseph Jablonower, Wayne White, A. J. Muste, and Cedric Long.

It is expected that discussion from the floor will constitute the most important part of the session.

Further information as to expenses, registration at the Conference, etc., may be obtained from the War Resisters' League, 171 West 12th Street, New York City.

Prison Congress in Prague

UNDER the auspices of the International Prison Commission, the Tenth International Prison Congress will be held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, August 25th to 30th, 1930. Competent penologists from all parts of the world will participate in the program which includes discussion of the following problems: Prevention of Crime; Unification of the Fundamental Principles of Penal Law in the different countries; Payment of Prisoners; Recreation of Prisoners; Professional and Scientific Training of the Prison Staff; Cellular Confinement; the Necessity of Knowing the Antecedents of Defendants; Probation and its Organization; International Coöperation for the Study of Changes in the Move-

ment of Crime and their Causes; Children's Courts and the Best Treatment for Juvenile Delinquents.

In addition to this program, various excursions and entertainments are being arranged for the delegates. It will be possible to combine attendance at the Congress with an inspection of the modern prison just completed near Berlin and of other continental prisons; visits to the International Exhibit at Brussels, the International Health Exposition at Dresden, and the Passion Play at Oberammergau.

The cost of attendance at the Congress has been tentatively estimated as follows: ocean voyage (tourist third class, including taxes) \$232; traveling and living expenses (including land travel, meals, hotels, tips, sight-seeing, and baggage transfers) \$13 per day. Detailed information will be supplied by Mrs. Otto Wittpenn, American commissioner to the International Prison Commission, 1 Newark Street, Hoboken, N. J.

ADDITIONAL COPIES

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of THE WORLD TOMORROW, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1930.

State of New York, } ss.:
County of New York, }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared A. Albert MacLeod, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of the WORLD TOMORROW, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The World Tomorrow, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Editors, Kirby Page, Devere Allen, Reinhold Niebuhr, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Managing editor, none; Business manager, A. Albert MacLeod, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y. C.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) The World Tomorrow, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y. (a non-stock corporation); John Nevin Sayre, 383 Bible House, Astor Place, New York, President; Vice-President, none; Caroline B. La Monte, Secretary, 52 Vanderbilt Ave.; Kenneth E. Walser, Treasurer, 67 Wall St., New York.

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is (This information is required from daily publications only.)

A. ALBERT MACLEOD,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of March, 1930.

(Signed) HELEN LESCHORN,
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Certificate filed in N. Y. Co. No. 89; N. Y. County Register's No. 1156.
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The Last Page

"HUMOR," said Dr. Maurice H. Harris of New York in a recent sermon, "serves the important function of enabling us to bear life's burdens, to discern its silver lining and to see a pleasing side to all experience. It varies the stupid monotony of the humdrum; it takes the sting from poverty; it sends its soothing balm into overtaxed hearts and tempers every woe. Alas for the man who broods over his wrongs. The revengeful nature that nurses a grudge cannot be humorous. Let us regard it as one of our duties to jolly and be jolly; to make a joke and take one."

I'd give a good deal not to have read this. It has filled me with self-consciousness. A duty, eh? Making a duty of humor is to my mind the last way under the sun to achieve it. I know perfectly well that this month's Last Page is a goner before it starts. All I can ask of you, therefore, is not to brood over your wrongs; this is your chance to show how you can take a joke—especially where there isn't any.

* * *

FAILING to provide humor, I must take recourse to the next best thing, the one thing that is most likely to produce it unintentionally—namely, preaching. And like many another preacher, I have stolen an idea from a contemporary—in this case *American Forests*, which tells about a small girl who responded to a lecture on trees by offering to recite a poem. It runs like this:

Don't be discouraged if your work is large
And your deeds are few.
For once the mighty oak
Was a nut like you.

* * *

LONG has the land been full of pleas for heavier punishment of the wrongdoer. But according to the Constitution it is illegal to inflict cruel and unusual punishments. This being the case, I hope there will be immediate steps to get out an injunction or something to stop school authorities at Tarentum, Pennsylvania, from abusing high school children guilty of misdemeanors. The horrendous punishment inflicted by these fiends is nothing less than making offenders read and copy long extracts out of the *Congressional Record*.

* * *

THE MONTH'S TALL TALKER: Former Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma, in a pamphlet on the Fall-Sinclair oil leases: "The most scandalous thing about the 'naval reserve scandals' is the manner in which Sinclair was treated. I have personally known Sinclair for many years, and have always regarded him as a man of honor and integrity. The record vindicates this opinion."

* * *

THE Treasury Department is complaining because the old large-size bills, while practically out of use in the East, are still common throughout the West and Middle West. These, be it noted, are the agricultural regions, where the Republican and Democratic brands of farm relief have been tried at various times. Of course the large bills will not be given up readily out there; can't a person have at least the satisfaction of making his dollar cover more territory, even if it won't go any farther?

MR. CALVIN COOLIDGE was supposed to go to Fitchburg, Massachusetts, one day last October and stand upon the very spot where Fitchburg school children—bless their tender little hearts—were induced by zealous patriots to bury a box, near the World War Memorial, containing historic documents. The box was to be kept sealed until 2029. Remembering the plaques and tablets erected in honor of Joan of Arc and other historic figures and doubtless wishing to outdo all previous records, the admiring citizens of Massachusetts decided to place a tablet reading, "Here stood Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States, 1923-1929."

It appears that Mr. Coolidge could not be present and was never on the site, a state of affairs which led—at least I hope—to a certain amount of embarrassment on the part of local authorities. Now, however, Mr. Coolidge was recently observed visiting the place very quietly, perhaps as dispatches suggest, "to make the inscription true as a matter of sentiment."

Now this otherwise trivial—excessively trivial—incident is brought forward here only because it suggests a way out of many a modern problem. In Congress we have numerous unspoken speeches; we now have the precedent of unhistoric history by means of unstood standings. All we need now is unwritten writings. Very likely I may soon leave a blank page here and simply sign it. Although, some day I might embarrass the editors by sending in the missing stuff to make it all come true—just as a matter of sentiment.

* * *

ECCENTRICUS is a real person, and not a fake name to cover composite writing. And he was even born. Trying recently to obtain a birth certificate, however, he discovered an amazing thing. His parents, when he was born, were for long uncertain what to call him; so greatly did they dilly-dally that finally they never got around to notifying the city authorities, in that far New England place, what their decision ultimately was. Thus while all necessary data is on record as to parentage and date of birth, the first name is recorded simply and expressively as "Blank." This gives me the prerogative I have all my life sought after—the privilege of choosing my own name. I have secured an affidavit and have had it neatly, irrevocably registered. At last I have a name, *officially*. What's that? Of course—Eccentricus.

But why not have a system whereby a person's name, that most precious and important of possessions, may be selected at a suitable age by the life-long owner thereof? Hard to do, I know. Well, anyway, Normala and I have done the next best thing. We've given our progeny one name apiece, with the distinct understanding that when the time arrives they are free to keep it, junk it, or simply add another. Eccentricity is our slogan—and democracy, by hook or crook!

* * *

THE trouble between India and Great Britain has resolved itself into a state of mutual distrust. India knows that she can never climb upward through Downing Street, and Britain is still stubbornly convinced that nothing good can come out of Ahmedabad.

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JULY interprets convention events; presents convention actions, speeches, trends—an almanac of star material for reference throughout the year.

AUGUST brings falling stars, here is a shower of them: fiction, poster publicity, program plans to interest industrial and business groups. Star gaze in August.

SEPTEMBER unveils the stars of the world in a fellowship firmament. Look through the telescope at the world in September.

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